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ABSTRACT

This fifth volume in a series of seven is part of a larger study of parental involvement in four federal programs in selected school districts across the country. Presented here are the results of an intensive examination of projects funded by the Follow Through program. Site studies of Follow Through projects yielded data on the five ways parents could participate in the programs--through governance, instruction, parent education, school support, and community-school relations. The researchers found that all 16 sites had policy advisory committees, though they were structured differently than those described in the Follow Through regulations. Most of the committees made decisions about parent activities, but few participated significantly in project decisions about student services, budget, or personnel. Parents were widely used as classroom aides and most sites worked to involve parents in teaching their children at home. Few sites had active programs to recruit parents as volunteers, but those that did provided a substantial role for the volunteers. Parent enrichment programs were well developed, offering parents a major role in determining the content of parent education activities. The sites also involved parents in active school support and community relations programs. The report concludes that parents materially affected the quality of education provided to students in Follow Through projects. (Author/WN)

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Parents and Federal Education Programs

Volume 5: Follow Through



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The Study of Parental Involvement

PARENTS AND FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

VOLUME 5: FOLLOW THROUGH

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TM-6974/008/00

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PREFACE

Under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of Education, System Development Corporation is conducting a multi-stage study of parental involvement in four Federally funded programs: Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and Follow Through.

Parents may participate in several program functions--project governance, instruction of students, non-instructional support services, and school-community relations. In addition, projects sponsored by these programs may provide educational services for the parents themselves. The Study of Parental Involvement has been designed to obtain detailed descriptions of the nature and extent of activities involving parents, to identify factors that facilitate or inhibit the conduct of such activities, and to determine the direction and degree of the outcomes of these parental involvement activities. The objective of the study is to provide a description of parental involvement practices in each of the programs, highlighting those that succeed in fostering and supporting parental involvement activities.

An earlier report, "Parents and Federal Education Programs: Preliminary Findings from the Study of Parental Involvement," described the findings from a survey of nationally representative samples of districts and schools participating in these programs. It provides program-wide estimates of the extent of parental involvement with respect to certain formal characteristics of the functions mentioned above.

The present volume is one of seven which present the results of the next phase of the study. In this phase, a smaller number of selected sites was studied intensively to provide more detailed information on the causes and consequences of parental involvement activities. The volumes in this series are described below.

Volume 1 is a detailed summary of the findings from each of the subsequent volumes.

Volume 2 is a comparison of parental involvement activities across the four programs, contrasting the contributory factors and outcomes. Policy issues, such as the effect of parental involvement on the quality of education; the influence of regulations and guidelines, etc., are discussed from a multi-program perspective in this volume.

Volumes 3 to 6 describe and discuss in detail the findings for each of the four programs. Volume 3 is devoted to the ESAA program; Volume 4 is for the Title VII program; Volume 5 is for the Follow Through program; and Volume 6 is for the Title I program.

Volume 7, the last volume in the series, describes in detail the technical aspects of the study--the data collection methodologies for each phase, the instruments developed for the study, and the methods of data analysis employed. In addition, this volume provides a description of the data base that will become part of the public domain at the completion of the study.

The last product to be developed from the study will be a model handbook that will provide information for local project staff and interested parents about the practices that were effective in obtaining parental involvement in these Federal programs.

OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY

This report contains a portion of the findings from the Study of Parental Involvement in Four Federal Educational Programs pertaining to Follow Through. The study has been carried out by System Development Corporation (SDC) under a contract with the U.S. Department of Education (ED).

As specified in the 1967 amendment to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, Follow Through was to be a follow-up of Head Start, "...focused primarily upon children in kindergarten or elementary school who were previously enrolled in Head Start or similar programs designed to provide comprehensive services and parent participation activities...to aid in the continuing development of children to their full potential." The Study of Parental Involvement was designed to accomplish five major goals with regard to Follow Through:

1. Describe parental involvement.
2. Identify contributory factors that facilitate or inhibit parental involvement.
3. Determine the consequences of parental involvement.
4. Specify successful parental involvement practices.
5. Promulgate findings.

This report is one in a series that promulgates the findings of the study. It covers the first three goals in considerable detail. An earlier report (Parents and Federal Education Programs: Some Preliminary Findings from the Study of Parental Involvement) addressed the first and part of the second goals using telephone survey data collected from a nationally representative sample of districts and schools. This report, however, presents results from an in-depth investigation of parental involvement activities at 16 local projects selected purposefully from the larger survey population. Another report in the series (Involving Parents: A Handbook for Participation in Schools) contains detailed information on the successful parental involvement practices that were uncovered during the study.

Data reported here were collected during the spring of 1980. The data were acquired by trained Field Researchers who lived in the communities and spent four months pursuing research topics relating to the nature, causes and consequences of parental involvement. Field Researchers interviewed parents and project staff, observed classrooms and events, and analyzed project documents. These data, along with the Field Researchers' own analyses, were reported to senior study staff who in turn conducted cross-site analyses.

The findings reported here should not be seen as an audit of compliance with regulations, since there were few specific statements in the legislation or regulations by which to assess the implementation of parental involvement components in local Follow Through projects. Rather, this study was intended as a descriptive exploration of a much discussed but seldom studied phenomenon--parental involvement.

In the study Field Researchers collected information relating to five ways in which parents can participate in Follow Through projects. These five avenues for involvement are listed below and provide the organizing structure for this report:

1. Governance -- Participation of parents in the process of decision making for a project, particularly through mandated advisory groups.
2. Instruction -- Participation of parents in a project's instructional program as paid aides, instructional volunteers, and as teachers of their own children at home.
3. Parent Education -- Participation of parents in project activities designed to improve parents' skills and knowledge.
4. Non-Instructional Support -- Participation of parents in project activities that provide economic, political and moral support to a school or project.

5. School-Community Relations -- Participation of parents in activities sponsored by a project to improve communication and interpersonal relations among parents and staff members.

The key study findings and conclusions for Follow Through in each of these function areas are summarized below.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT GOVERNANCE

For this study "governance" means the process of making decisions or establishing policies which can affect project services or activities. We looked for instances where parents offered advice to Follow Through staff and it was heeded, or where parents actually made decisions about the project proposal, classroom content and student services, personnel, project expenditures, and parent involvement activities. The Follow Through regulations are quite explicit in requiring parental involvement in project governance and mandate the establishment of project Policy Advisory Committees (PACs) for that purpose. The major findings about the structure and functioning of those committees in the area of governance are summarized below:

- All 16 sites had Policy Advisory Committees, but in practice those committees tended to be structured quite differently from PACs described in the Follow Through regulations.
- Although most PACs participated fully in decisions about parental activities, only seven of the 16 PACs studied played more than a token role in project decisions about student services, budget, or personnel; none approached the comprehensive governance role defined for them in the Follow Through regulations.
- There were four relatively distinct patterns of involvement in decisions about student services, project budget, or personnel. At the lowest level were three PACs that had no involvement at all in these decisions. Next were four PACs that had only token involvement;

they did discuss important project matters, but their input had little impact on staff decisions. Third, there were two PACs that participated only in decisions about special student activities -- such as field trips--conducted by parents for children. Finally, there were seven PACs that had major involvement in decisions about student services, project expenditures or personnel; at these sites parents' advice was offered, and that advice had a real impact on staff decisions.

- Very few PACs saw governance as their primary function in the project. Even where PACs were actively involved in governance, most saw their primary roles in other areas, such as parent education, non-instructional support, or school-community relations.

There seem to be several factors that contributed to the generally low level of involvement by PACs in project governance relative to the regulations. First, there were limited opportunities for PACs to become involved in decisions. Second, parents tended not to push for a greater role in governance. Finally, project and school staffs tended not to encourage PACs to participate more in governance, believing that project decisions were the proper domain for professionals.

Despite these factors, there were some PACs that did play an active role in project decisions. These active advisory groups were characterized by three factors that were generally absent from less active PACs: one or more influential, experienced parents pushed for PAC involvement in governance; at least one staff member vigorously supported that push; and, extensive training was provided for PAC members on Follow Through and the PAC's role within it.

Turning to the consequences of parental involvement on PACs, we sought information both about effects on parents as individuals and effects on the school or project as an institution. While there were outcomes reported relating specifically to a governance role, most of the personal and

institutional outcomes of PAC participation reflected the finding that PACs spent most of their time working in areas other than governance.

Several implications were derived from these findings for Federal and local efforts to increase parental involvement in project governance. At the national level, the Follow Through office could take steps to make local staff and parent PAC members more aware of the existing Follow Through regulations calling for parental involvement in governance, since the data showed that local parents and staff were generally unfamiliar with the provisions of the current regulations. Also, the national office could develop and implement procedures for monitoring the compliance of sites with those regulations. At the local level, districts and projects interested in increasing parental involvement in this area could (1) define project areas within which an advisory committee will have advisory authority and then specify decision-making procedures that make that authority a reality; (2) provide training to PAC members on leadership skills and project operations so they will have the skills needed to assume a greater advisory role; and (3) take concrete steps to familiarize PAC members with the day-to-day operations of the project so that they will be better prepared to contribute their suggestions to the staff.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN INSTRUCTION

A second way in which parents can become involved in Follow Through is through participation in the instructional process. Three aspects of that involvement were examined in the study: (1) parents working as paid paraprofessionals (aides); (2) parents working as classroom volunteers; and (3) parents participating as teachers of their own children at home. More specifically, we looked for instances where parents either helped individual students or groups of students to master academic skills or where parents prepared instructional materials. We also looked at the extent to which parent paraprofessionals and classroom volunteers participated in instructional decision making at the classroom, program, and school levels. Because the findings relating to the three possible forms of parental involvement in instruction were different, they will be summarized separately.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: INSTRUCTIONAL AIDES

The Follow Through regulations are clear in their insistence that parents be given first priority in the hiring of aides and that projects actively support the development of those aides. Three major findings emerged from the site study about the nature of parental involvement in this area:

- Parents were widely used as classroom aides. All sites had parents in aide positions and nearly 75 percent of all classroom aides were parents of current or former Follow Through children. Most sites either now have or once had a policy of actively recruiting parents to fill aide positions.
- The actual number of current parents employed as aides was rather small, however. Once hired, parents tended to stay in these positions when their children graduated from Follow Through, so many of the parents found in aide positions were actually parents of former Follow Through children. Some sites did hire current parents in part-time temporary positions known as "parent trainees," "rotating aides," or "8-week aides."
- Parent classroom aides played a major instructional role in the classroom, frequently functioning more as co-teachers than as assistants. Although active in classroom decisions, aides typically did not participate in school- or program-level decisions.

Several factors helped explain why sites tended to emphasize the placement of parents in aide positions. First, the regulations specifically require that parents be given priority in hiring. Although few current parents or staff were aware of the regulations, there was evidence that the original design and policies of local projects were guided by them. Second, several of the model sponsors associated with sites in the study called for parents in the classroom as aides and volunteers to assist in the individualization of

instruction. Finally, many project staff members were enthusiastic advocates for hiring parents as aides, believing that by so doing they not only enhanced the educational experience of the children, but they also helped parents from the community acquire the education and skills needed to improve their status.

Despite the emphasis on hiring parents to fill positions, there were few parents of current Follow Through children working as aides at the sites studied. Several reasons were identified for this pattern: (1) there was extremely low turnover among aides, and no local policy stipulating that aides had to resign when their children left the program; hence, there were few openings for new Follow Through parents; (2) there was a trend toward increasing "professionalization" of aides, with district personnel offices assuming a larger role in the selection and hiring of classroom aides; (3) in many districts unionization of aides created additional restrictions on the hiring and placement of new aides; (4) projects typically saw their aide program as part of the project's instructional components, rather than as an avenue for parental involvement.

Turning to the final finding, that Follow Through aides tended to have a substantial instructional role in the classroom, several contributory factors were apparent: (1) sponsors frequently insisted that aides have a major instructional role; (2) Follow Through aides tended to have considerable experience in the classroom and in the model--often more than the teacher; (3) sponsors and staff tended to provide a great deal of training for aides; and (4) teachers and administrators at the Follow Through sites were generally supportive of the role played by aides in instruction.

The implications of these findings for policy makers depend somewhat on one's point of view. On the one hand, it could be argued that projects should force aides to resign when their children leave Follow Through, as this would ensure participation by current parents in these roles. On the other hand, however, it could also be argued that the stability and tenure of aides is educationally beneficial because it results in highly trained and experienced

personnel in the classroom. The regulations are silent on this issue and could be clarified. In either case, though, the data clearly suggest that regular and ongoing training for aides is essential if they are to play a major instructional role in the classroom.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: INSTRUCTIONAL VOLUNTEERS

The Follow Through regulations are also clear in their insistence that parents be involved in the classroom as volunteers. Two major findings came from the data about the nature of parental involvement in this area:

- Relatively few sites had active programs to recruit parent classroom volunteers.
- Sites that did have classroom volunteer programs tended to provide a substantial classroom instructional role for those volunteers.

Several factors seem to explain the sites' lack of emphasis in this area: (1) some projects had other mechanisms for ensuring a parental presence in the classroom, such as stipended "parent trainees"; (2) funding cutbacks at some sites forced elimination of the organizational and support features that once made a classroom volunteer program possible; and (3) staff, teachers, and even parents frequently did not support the notion of parent volunteers in the classroom, believing that parents are not qualified to teach children. The data also suggest that the primary reason why some sites were able to attract parents to the classroom was that they had an organized recruitment and training effort that was supported by the project and coordinated by a single individual. Further, sites that were successful at recruiting parent classroom volunteers usually used a variety of recruitment techniques that centered around personal contacts by project staff, supplemented by other impersonal methods, such as newsletters and notices. Successful sites also supported parental participation by providing babysitting or transportation services, along with public awards and recognition.

Once they were in the classroom, parent volunteers appear to have been able to play a substantial instructional role because of extensive training, because of the efforts of the Parent Coordinator to "sell" parent volunteers to teachers, and because Follow Through teachers and administrators at those sites were generally supportive of active parent volunteers in the classroom.

Several personal and institutional outcomes were reported by respondents at sites with volunteer programs: parents became more aware of activities in the school; parents became more supportive of Follow Through; teachers were able to individualize instruction for their students. Some problems were also reported: lack of continuity among volunteers caused confusion among the children, and some teachers mentioned that volunteers would frequently not show up when promised, after the teacher had planned activities for them.

Three policy implications were suggested for those interested in increasing involvement in this area: local projects could create organized and centrally coordinated classroom volunteer programs like those seen at some of these sites; local projects could do more personal recruitment of classroom volunteers; local projects could provide more incentives and support service for classroom volunteers; local projects could provide more extensive training for volunteers; and finally, projects could go out of their way to make parent volunteers feel welcome and appreciated.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: TEACHERS OF THEIR OWN CHILDREN AT HOME

The Site Study concentrated upon describing activities and programs implemented by local projects that encouraged parents to participate in reinforcing lessons taught in school. Two major findings emerged from this search:

- Most sites provided some activities to involve parents in teaching their children at home.

- There were two basic approaches to providing these home teaching activities. Five sites had more formal organized programs with central coordination, individualized training for parents, development of defined programs for individual children, and provisions for monitoring students' and/or parents' progress. Five other sites had less formal programs, consisting primarily of workshops and/or distribution of handbooks or materials.

Unlike parental involvement in governance or the classroom, home teaching programs or activities generally filled a void at sites. Creating such a program did not require changing or displacing anything that already existed. Thus, the primary contributory factor explaining the presence of these programs at some sites was the work of key individuals who wanted them and took the initiative to create them. There was seldom any mention of resistance to these efforts from any quarter. Efforts by local staff were frequently reinforced and supported by staff from the sponsor--several of whom actively supported this form of parental involvement and included it in their models.

The two most frequently mentioned obstacles to involving parents in these programs or activities were (1) the low educational level of Follow Through parents made it difficult for them to participate effectively as home tutors and (2) many parents felt generally uncomfortable about coming to school. The more successful sites developed approaches to overcome these two obstacles, such as providing extensive and individualized training to parents, regular monitoring of parent progress by staff, and provision of training and services in the home.

Data on outcomes were again limited to anecdotes from parents and staff, but these reports suggest that the two principal outcomes from these home teaching programs were, first, that children's school performance improved as a result of home teaching by parents and, second, that by participating in the home teaching program parents who once felt alienated from and uncomfortable in the school came to better understand what occurred in their children's classroom. This understanding often translated into broader support for the Follow Through project.

These findings suggested several implications for local projects wishing to involve parents more in home teaching: (1) centralized coordination is important; (2) individualized training for parents helps them to better meet the needs of their children; (3) the most successful approach to home teaching programs appears to involve developing for each child defined academic programs that the parents can follow at home; and (4) finally, successful programs generally included some monitoring of the child's and/or parent's progress by classroom teachers and/or project staff.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN PARENT EDUCATION

Although individual projects frequently considered any training for parents "parent education," the Site Study limited this domain to activities designed to instruct parents in skills to help themselves in the home or community ("parent enrichment"), or activities referred to in the Follow Through regulations as "career development." The Follow Through regulations devote considerable attention to both forms of parent education, requiring that sites provide a range of activities in both areas. Four major findings emerged from the data about these forms of parental involvement at the study sites:

- Parent enrichment was widespread; 14 sites provided at least some training to parents in four areas: parenting skills; community awareness; home skills/crafts; and health and nutrition.
- Parents had a major role in determining the direction and scope of parent enrichment activities.
- Career development programs were widespread; 14 sites provided at least some support to the career development of parents and aides.
- Very few sites had the mandated PAC Career Development Committees actively supervising their career development program.

Many of the same contributory factors encountered in other areas also helped explain these findings. First, the regulatory requirements were certainly an important influence, at least historically, on a project's development of parent education programs. Second, Follow Through staff, as a result of the Head Start influence, tended to see their program as a comprehensive effort to help children by helping their parents. Thus, there was a large reservoir of support for parent education among staff. Third, there was a widespread belief among staff that parent education activities were an effective mechanism for recruiting parents for other types of participation in the project. Fourth, parent education programs tended to fill a "void" in the schools and did not require any displacement of existing programs or prerogatives. Finally, many sites created their parent education programs in part because there were Federal funds to support them. These funds were being phased out at the time of the data collection, and parent education efforts were consequently suffering.

At the level of individual parents, several reasons were offered for participating in parent education activities: (1) they provided an opportunity to socialize with other parents; (2) they contributed to parents' personal growth and development; (3) they afforded an opportunity to learn things that would help children; and (4) they provided a convenient means for parents to feel that they were participating in their children's schooling. Reasons for not participating echoed those offered in other areas: discomfort in the school, lack of child care, lack of time, and lack of transportation. Successful parent education programs tended to be those that found the means to overcome these obstacles.

The outcomes from participation in parent education programs reflect the motivations mentioned above. Parents found the parent workshops informative, providing them with information and skills useful in the home; they found career development programs attractive because they frequently brought with them the prospect or promise of higher salaries and increased job responsibility.

At the level of policy, the data suggest that the most imminent threat to parent education activities is not lack of success but lack of funding.

Several approaches to coping with declining Federal funding were suggested:

(1) more reliance could be placed on free resources in the community or among parents themselves; (2) districts could be persuaded to assume some of the costs of training and career development programs; (3) local colleges and schools could be convinced to waive tuition and fees for Follow Through parents interested in career development; (4) alternative sources of Federal funding, such as CETA, could be identified; or (5) local businesses could be persuaded to contribute to the support of parent education activities.

OTHER FORMS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The final two forms of parental involvement, Non-Instructional Support and School-Community Relations, were considered together because local projects tended to combine them operationally. For purposes of the Site Study, Non-Instructional Support Services were defined as any activity engaged in by parents other than classroom instruction and governance that contributed to the economic, political, or moral support of the Follow Through project. School-Community Relations encompassed two interrelated aspects of interaction between the school and its community: communication and interpersonal relations. The Follow Through regulations do not mention either of these forms of involvement explicitly, but they do make clear the expectation that parents will be involved in all phases of school support and that the project will strive to maintain effective and frequent communication between project staff and the parents they serve. Three major findings emerged from the Site Study data:

- Parental involvement in non-instructional support services was widespread and diverse; all sites involved parents in at least some way in non-instructional support, and most had several types of involvement.

- Policy Advisory Committees played a major role in fostering and coordinating non-instructional support activities. At many sites this was the principal function of the PAC.
- Activities to improve communications and relations between parents and the school were widespread; almost all of the sites studied provided at least some practices or events in these areas.

The evidence from the Site Study suggested several reasons for the abundance of activities in these two domains. First, staff and parents actively supported activities in these areas. In many respects, these are the least controversial forms of parental involvement and most closely resemble the traditional "PTA" parental involvement. Thus, they represent forms of participation that administrators and teachers have traditionally supported. Second, these activities were widespread because Parent Coordinators typically played a major role in organizing and promoting them. Third, sites that were most active in these areas typically also had strong and active PACs and were located in communities with a tradition of citizen participation.

At the level of individual parents, reasons offered for participation in activities in these areas included: their convenience as a means for participation (they did not require much time and could be irregular) and their resemblance to what parents traditionally perceived as their role in the schools. Reasons for not participating included geographic distance from the schools, other commitments among single and working parents, ethnic or racial tensions in the schools, and general alienation from and discomfort with the schools.

Outcomes reported from participation in these areas included: (1) increased parental involvement in other areas as a result of the introduction to the program that parents receive through non-instructional support and communication activities; (2) increased resources for the project and schools as a result of fundraisers, work parties, etc; and (3) the very survival of the project as a result of letter writing campaigns and other demonstrations

of support from parents. At the level of personal outcomes, reported benefits were fewer but nonetheless present. Staff and parents often noted that the events sponsored by the project had the effect of making parents more aware and supportive of Follow Through.

Several implications could be derived from the data for policy makers interested in increasing these forms of parental involvement in Follow Through. First, these appear to be effective means for increasing parental involvement in other areas of the project. District and project officials interested generally in increasing parental involvement could profitably begin with activities in these areas. Second, the data suggest that sites need to provide a range of activities for parents that demand different amounts of time and commitment.

A final implication from these data is really a warning. The Follow Through regulations clearly intend that parents become involved in project governance and instruction. There is a danger that these other forms of parental involvement can essentially take over a project's parental involvement efforts, diverting attention from the more substantive forms of involvement specified in the regulations. This is a danger that the most successful sites were able to avoid.

ADDITIONAL POLICY ISSUES

Beyond the policy implications already cited, three other policy issues were addressed. Their findings and implications were as follows:

- It was not possible to obtain accurate data on expenditures for parental involvement, so that costs could not be determined. The conclusion was that the Follow Through office in ED could define what is and is not to be treated as parental involvement, specify legitimate Follow Through expenditures for parental involvement, and develop a standardized reporting form for parental involvement expenses.

- While most districts were carrying out numerous Federal projects calling for parental involvement, there was little interaction among those projects. No effect could be detected of such multiple funding, and it was not possible to draw conclusions about the value, for instance, of forming a single advisory group to serve all Federal projects simultaneously.
- We found that parents materially affected the quality of education provided to students served by Follow Through projects. PACs affected the design and delivery of student services in several projects; parents affected what was taught in the classroom and how it was taught in their roles as classroom aides and volunteers; parents augmented project resources through fundraisers and contributions, and they maintained regular communication and relations with the schools. We concluded that Federal and local policy makers interested in enhancing parental influence on the quality of education could learn from the more successful sites in our study and apply the successful practices in their own settings.

Overall, then, we found that parental involvement was both present and varied in Follow Through. We also found that parental involvement programs have been worth the effort; participation by parents produced real benefits for the schools, for the parents, and for the children. Probably the most encouraging conclusion coming from the Study, though, was that parental involvement can be stimulated. Although projects did have to contend with the particular social and administrative contexts within which they operated, they were able to take concrete steps to overcome obstacles in that environment and increase parental participation in their programs. The experience of these sites provides valuable lessons to others interested in increasing parental participation in their schools.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The Study of Parental Involvement in Federal Educational Programs was designed to provide a systematic exploration of parental participation in four programs sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education. The Study consists of two substudies: the Federal Programs Survey and the Site Study. A previous document reported the findings from the Federal Programs Survey, while this volume is devoted to that portion of the Site Study relating to the Follow Through program.

This chapter gives the reader a brief orientation to the Site Study. Elaborations on the themes addressed herein are provided in the Appendix.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the last two decades parental participation has come to play an increasingly important and different role in education. The concept of parental involvement in Federal educational programs had its roots in the Community Action Program of the 1964 Economics Opportunity Act (EOA). One intent of the EOA was to promote community action to increase the political participation of previously excluded citizens, particularly members of ethnic and minority groups, and to provide them with a role in the formation of policies and decisions that affect their lives. Specifically, the EOA required that poverty programs be developed with the "maximum feasible participation of the residents of areas and the members of the groups served."

This maximum feasible participation requirement has had broad interpretation in education. Head Start, the first EOA education program to attempt intensive parental participation, requires local projects to include parents on policy-making councils. Head Start parents also can become involved as paid staff members in Head Start centers and as teachers of their own children at home.

Other Federal educational programs have tended to follow the Head Start lead in identifying both decision-making and direct service roles for parents. Participation by parents in Federal programs was stipulated in the General Education Provisions Act, which calls for regulations encouraging parental participation in any programs for which it is determined that such participation would increase program effectiveness.

The Study of Parental Involvement was designed to examine parental involvement components of four Federal programs: ESEA Title I, ESEA Title VII Bilingual, Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), and Follow Through. All derive their emphasis on parental and community participation from the General Education Provisions Act, but there are differences in legislation, regulations, and guidelines among the four programs. These differences--in intent, target population, and parental involvement requirements--make the programs a

particularly rich source for insights into the nature and extent of parental participation in Federal educational programs.

The present study takes on added significance in light of the paucity of prior research into the nature of parental involvement. Despite increasing programmatic emphasis on parental participation, little systematic information is available on the activities in which parents engage, the reasons such activities take place, and the results of the activities.

II. PURPOSE FOR THE STUDY

Given the lack of information on parental involvement in Federal education programs, the Education Department in 1978 issued a Request for Proposal for a study to achieve two broad goals: (1) obtain accurate descriptions of the form and extent of parental involvement and, for each form or participation role, identify factors that seem to facilitate or prevent parents from carrying out the role; and (2) investigate the feasibility of disseminating information about effective parental involvement.

In response, System Development Corporation (SDC) proposed a study with these major objectives:

1. Describe Parental Involvement: provide detailed descriptions of the types and levels of parental involvement activities, characteristics of participants and non-participants, and costs.
2. Identify Contributory Factors: identify factors that facilitate or inhibit parental involvement activities.
3. Determine Consequences: determine the direction and degree of outcomes of parental involvement activities.
4. Specify Successful Strategies: document those practices that have been effective in enhancing parental involvement.

5. Promulgate Findings: produce reports and handbooks on parental involvement for project personnel, program administrators, and Congress.

III. OVERALL STUDY DESIGN

To meet the objectives outlined above, SDC designed the work as a series of sub studies. First, the Federal Programs Survey was developed to collect quantitative data on formal parental involvement activities from a sample of districts representative of each program on a nationwide basis. Second, the Site Study was created to explore in an in-depth fashion the contributory factors and consequences of parental involvement, as well as the more informal activities.

The Federal Programs Survey had two broad purposes. The first was to provide nationwide projections of the nature and extent of formal parental involvement activities. (See Parents and Federal Education Programs: Some Preliminary Findings from the Study of Parental Involvement.) The second was to provide information needed to establish meaningful, purposive samples for the Site Study. On the other hand, the Site Study was planned to allow for detailed investigations of projects that had particular characteristics as determined in the survey--notably projects that appeared to have greater and lesser degrees of parental participation.

During the planning period of the Study a conceptual framework for parental involvement was developed, along with the specification of a series of policy-relevant issues. The conceptualization, depicted on the following page, can be summarized in this statement:

Given that certain preconditions are satisfied, parental involvement functions are implemented in varying ways, depending upon particular contextual factors, and they produce certain outcomes.

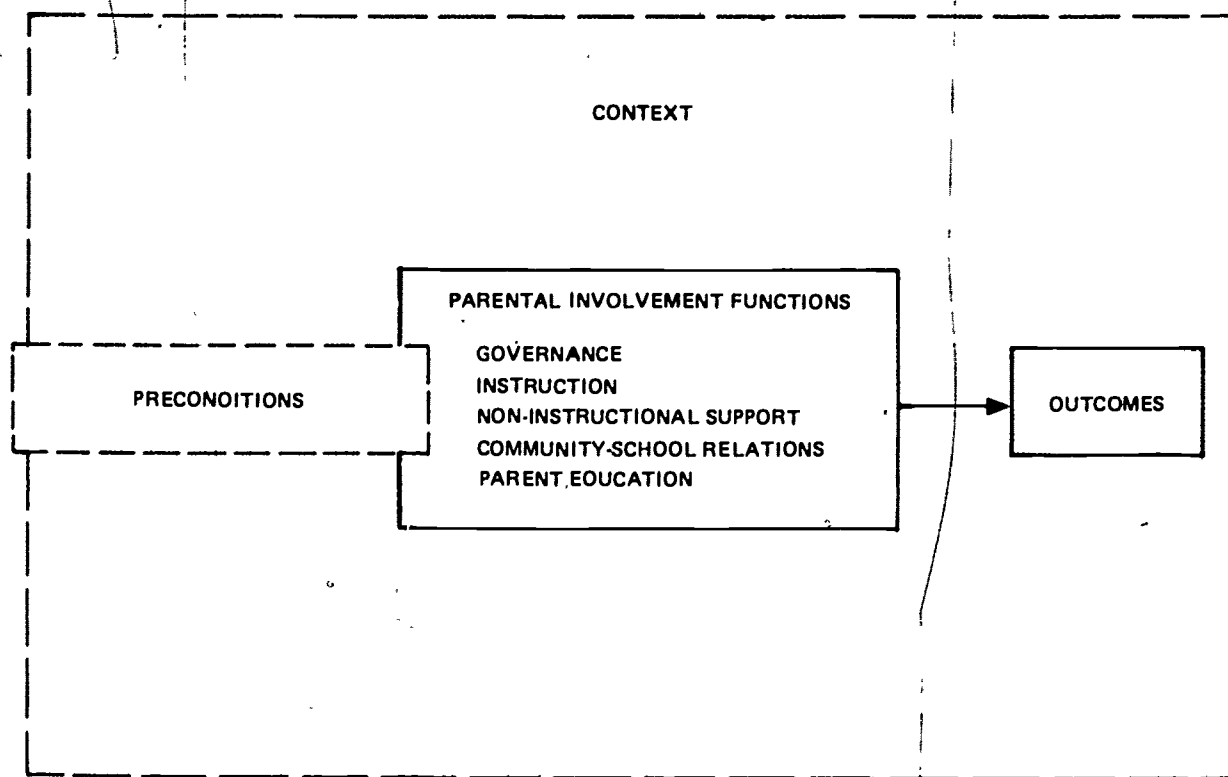


Figure 1-1. Diagram Representing the Conceptual Framework for the Study of Parental Involvement

These five functions form the definition of parental involvement used in the study;

- parental participation in project governance,
- parental participation in project instructional services,
- parental participation in non-instructional (school) support services,
- communication and interpersonal relations among parents and educators, and
- educational offerings for parents.

Policy-relevant issues were specified in five areas on the basis of interviews with Congressional staff members, Federal program officials, project personnel, and parents. They are presented in the figure that follows.

IV. SITE STUDY METHODOLOGY

Since this volume contains the results of the Site Study, a brief description of that substudy's methodology is presented here. The time period involved is the 1979-80 school year; actual data collection took place from January through May, 1980.

Samples for the Site Study were drawn independently for each program, with a goal of selecting projects that reported greater and lesser degrees of parental involvement for the Federal Programs Survey. Districts were selected first, then two schools within each district. At the close of data collection the total sample was 57 sites constituted as follows: Title I for 16, Follow Through for 16, Title VII for 13, and ESAA for 12.

The purposes for the Site Study demanded an intensive, on-site data collection effort employing a variety of data sources and substantial time. This was met by hiring and training experienced researchers who lived in the vicinity of each site. They collected data on a half-time basis for a period of at least 16 weeks.

1. Parental Involvement in Governance

- Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate in making important decisions?
- Do existing state and local practices affect parental participation in the making of important decisions?

2. Parental Involvement in the Instructional Process

- Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate meaningfully in instructional roles?
- Do existing state and local practices affect meaningful parental participation in instructional roles?

3. Funding Considerations and Parental Involvement

- Do total funding levels affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?
- Do the timing and duration of fund allocations influence the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?
- Does the amount of funding specifically devoted to parental involvement affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?

4. Parental Involvement and Educational Quality

- Do parental involvement activities influence the quality of education provided to students served by the four Federal programs?

5. Multiple Funding and Parental Involvement

- When multiple programs are funded at a site, are the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities affected?

Figure 1-2. Policy-Relevant Issues for the Study of Parental Involvement

Three techniques were used by Field Researchers: interviews, observations, and document analyses. Their efforts were guided by analysis packets that contained details on research questions to answer and techniques to employ. Each Field Researcher worked closely with an SDC Site Coordinator who provided guidance and assistance. Information was submitted to SDC on a regular basis by means of tape-recorded protocols and written forms. Toward the end of their work, Field Researchers prepared summary protocols in which they analyzed all data for their own site; these summary protocols became the first step in the analysis process.

Following the receipt of summary protocols, senior SDC staff summarized the findings from each site into syntheses that followed a common outline. The syntheses were further distilled into analysis tables that displayed data in matrices, which were examined for cross-site patterns. Versions of analysis tables appear in subsequent chapters, along with the major findings regarding the research questions guiding the study.

V. INTRODUCTION TO THE VOLUME

The remainder of this report is organized as follows. First is a treatment of the Federal program, then a description of the sample, followed by a chapter on the coordination of parental involvement. Chapters thereafter take up the five functional areas in turn. The final chapter addresses the policy-relevant issues.

Chapters dealing with the five functional areas are structured around the basic study objectives. That is, they contain findings on parental involvement activities for a functional area, along with the contributory factors and consequences for the activities. Throughout those chapters, findings are presented in two ways: total information is displayed in tables, while major findings are highlighted in the text.

Recognizing the need for maintaining the confidentiality of participants in the Study, pseudonyms have been used to identify districts and schools. In addition, the common titles of Project Director and Parent Coordinator are used, although projects actually called those persons by many other names.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM

In terms of both children served and funds allocated, Follow Through is the smallest of the four subject programs. At the time of the initial data collection in 1979, there were 161 Follow Through projects in the nation. As specified in the 1967 amendments to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, Follow Through was to be a follow-up of Head Start:

...a program known as 'Follow Through' focused primarily upon children in kindergarten or elementary school who were previously enrolled in Head Start or similar programs and designed to provide comprehensive services and parent participation activities... to aid in the continuing development of children to their full potential.

Since Follow Through was created to extend the Head Start preschool experience into kindergarten and grades 1-3, it is not surprising that it was patterned

after Head Start. The program provides for parental involvement and comprehensive services, and its focus is on helping children from low-income families to be more successful in elementary school and to enlarge the educational gains made by these students in Head Start or similar preschool programs. Because the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) administered programs operating primarily within school systems, responsibility for administering the national Follow Through program was delegated to USOE rather than the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administered Head Start.

Although Follow Through was originally intended to be a large-scale service program, it became apparent by 1968 that funding for Follow Through was going to be considerably less than anticipated. As a result, the program was redesigned to be a "planned variation experiment" focusing on development and evaluation of alternative educational approaches. Comprehensive health, nutrition, psychological, and social services were retained in the reformulated program, however, along with an emphasis on parental involvement. The resulting program, a combination of social action and educational research, has been called the largest educational experiment ever undertaken.

In the early years of the program the U.S. Office of Education (now the Department of Education) funded grants to 22 "sponsors" (universities, educational laboratories, and private educational development institutions) to develop and implement educational "models" in school districts around the country. These sponsors were expected to provide implementation services and technical assistance to local sites adopting their models. The sponsors and sites were in turn expected to participate in the National Longitudinal Evaluation Study of Follow Through conducted by SRI International and Abt Associates.

Although the primary focus of the Follow Through experiment was upon finding effective alternative approaches to instruction, parental involvement was heavily emphasized in the early guidelines, the final regulations, and in some sponsors' models (see Chapter 3). Parents were expected to participate in all

phases of each project, from budget preparation and program planning to classroom instruction. Each of the five functional areas (that is, avenues through which parents can participate in Federal educational programs) that this study includes in its conceptualization of parental involvement are addressed to some extent in the Follow Through regulations. The place of each functional area in Follow Through is summarized briefly below and described more fully in Chapters 5 through 8.

GOVERNANCE FUNCTION

This function refers to parental participation in project-level decision making. Parents are expected to participate in the governance of Follow Through projects through the mandated Policy Advisory Committee (PAC). The Policy Advisory Committee has the following duties related to decision making: develop PAC bylaws; help develop and approve the project proposal; assist in developing criteria for professional staff and recommend their selection; assist in developing criteria for paraprofessionals and have primary responsibility for recommending such persons for employment; have primary role in developing criteria for and in selecting children to participate in the project; and establish and carry out complaint procedures.

INSTRUCTION FUNCTION

This function refers to parental participation in the instructional process. Parents can participate in the instructional component of Follow Through projects as paid aides (paraprofessionals) and volunteers working in classrooms or in homes of participating children, as classroom observers, and as tutors of their own children. In the regulations, low-income persons are to be given priority for employment in Follow Through projects, but highest priority is to be given to parents of participating Follow Through students.

PARENT EDUCATION FUNCTION

This function refers to training provided to parents for their personal development. Parents in a Follow Through project can receive such training through workshops offered by the local project. Topics include child growth and development, parent-child relations, health and nutrition, and leadership development.

The Follow Through regulations allow supplementary training which may lead to college degrees for project paraprofessionals. This component, which provides educational opportunities for parents, is administered by a Career Development Committee of the project Policy Advisory Committee.

NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT FUNCTION

This function refers to parental augmentation of the school's resources. A mandated duty for the project Policy Advisory Committee is to assist project personnel to mobilize community resources and secure the participation of Follow Through parents. Parents can augment a project's resources in the following ways:

1. By contributing their time and talents and by providing materials. Parent volunteers act as speakers in classrooms and at assemblies, demonstrate particular skills to students, improve buildings and grounds, locate or make both instructional and non-instructional materials, and raise funds.
2. By supplementing the school staff in non-instructional areas. In addition to serving as instructional aides, parents serve as either volunteers or paid aides; they assist in the provision of any or all of the mandated support services; and they supervise students in the lunchroom, on the playground, and during field trips.

3. By providing political and moral support. Parents assist the professional staff in dealing with such matters as the closure of a school, the reassignment of key personnel, and the passage of school finance issues. Parents provide encouragement to their own children.

COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS FUNCTION

This function refers to parent-school exchanges of information and the development of improved interpersonal relations. Parents in a Follow Through project can take part in this function in the following ways:

1. As participants in communication by way of written and verbal memos and messages, informational meetings, and face-to-face dialogue.
2. Through formal and social interchanges involving the program administrators, school staff and parents.

CHAPTER 3

ORGANIZATION OF FOLLOW THROUGH PROJECTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The 16 sites* included in the Site Study phase of this research were not selected to be necessarily representative of all Follow Through projects. Rather, they were selected to address particular dimensions of interest for studying parental involvement. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to introduce the reader to the 16 Site Study sites and to describe briefly each site's community environment, its Follow Through project structure, its funding arrangements, and, finally, the role played by the Follow Through sponsor in parental involvement activities.

*In this report "site" refers to a local project's Follow Through staff and the Follow Through schools studied by the Field Researcher. Frequently, the schools studied were but a subset of the Follow Through schools served by a local project.

II. PROJECT CONTEXT AND STRUCTURE

The variables discussed in this section were chosen for the Study because, based on our literature review and our experiences with different Federal programs, we felt that they might contribute to an understanding of parental involvement in Follow Through projects; the degree to which our expectations were realized will be developed in subsequent chapters. The data summarized below are presented for individual sites in the Capsule Summaries that appear at the end of this chapter (Table 3-1). The Federal Programs Survey provided basic information for many variables, but the survey data were verified and augmented during the collection of Site Study data.

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

The 16 Follow Through projects participating in the Site Study were located in communities that represented a fairly wide range of characteristics. They were geographically distributed throughout the United States with the exception that none was located in the Southwest:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number of Districts</u>
Northeast	6
Southeast	3
Midwest	5
Northwest	2
Southwest	0

The size of the communities ranged from a dot on the map to some of the nation's largest cities:

<u>Community Size</u>	<u>Number of Districts</u>
Large city, over 200,000 population	9
Middle-size city, 50,000-200,000 population	3
Small city or town, less than 50,000 population	3
Rural area	1

The 27 Follow Through schools fell into three categories of community ethnicity: (1) 19 schools were in communities in which one ethnic group predominated; (2) five schools were in communities in which the ethnic distribution was more even; and (3) three schools did not have a community due either to district-wide busing or to the school being a magnet school. Data for the first two categories are summarized below.

Schools in which one ethnic group dominated the community:

<u>Ethnic Distribution</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
75%+ Black	11
75%+ White	7
75%+ Native American	0
75%+ Hispanic	1

Schools that were ethnically mixed:

<u>Ethnic Distribution</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
Black + White	1
Black + Hispanic	1
White + Native American	3

DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS

Participating districts ranged from the very small to the very large. Large districts were generally located in cities, while small districts were located in rural areas or small towns. District enrollment did not constitute a continuum, but fell into the following clusters:

<u>District Enrollment</u>	<u>Number of Districts</u>
225,000+	6
25,000-100,000	4
10,000- 20,000	3
7,000 or less	3

Almost all of the districts participating in the Site Study received funds, in addition to Follow Through funds, from one or more of the programs under study (ESAA, Title I, Title VII Bilingual).

<u>Other Federal Programs</u>	<u>Number of Districts</u>
Title I	6
Title I, ESAA, Bilingual	4
Title I, Bilingual	3
Title I, ESAA	2
Follow Through Only	1

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

The 27 elementary schools in the Site Study were all public. They ranged in size from less than 100 students to more than 2,000. The majority, though, were medium-sized, containing between 200 and 600 students.

<u>School Enrollment</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
800+	5
600-799	6
400-599	9
200-399	6
-199	1

The grade range in the participating schools showed several configurations, representing both traditional, local patterns of school grade arrangement and special patterns devised by districts primarily for purposes of desegregation. However, as can be seen from the data below, the majority of the schools had the familiar range of kindergarten through sixth grade:

<u>Grade Range</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
K-6	17
K-8	3
K-5	2
K-4	1
K-2	1
P-6	1
1-6	1
3-4	1

Low-income students, as defined by eligibility for free/reduced lunch or Aid to Families with Dependent Children, were present in each of the participating schools:

<u>Percentage of Low-Income Students</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
-50%	7
50-84	6
85-100	12
No Data	2

Very few students in the sampled schools came from non-English speaking homes:

<u>Percentage of Students From Non-English Speaking Homes</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
0%	14
1-10%	9
10%	3
No Data	1

The ethnic composition of the participating schools paralleled that of the communities in which they were located. Nearly one-half of the study schools were predominantly Black (i.e., more than 75 percent of the students were Black):

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
75%+ Black	13
75%+ White	6
75%+ Native American	2
75% Hispanic	0
60% White, 40% Native American	1
60% White, 40% Black	3
60% Black, 40% Hispanic	1
60% Hispanic, 40% Black	1

PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

PROJECT AGE

Projects in the Site Study were all over ten years old. Although there was variation in the length of time that the Follow Through projects had been operating in the individual schools, the majority were still in their original schools. (See Table 3-1 for the exact number of years for each school.)

THE DESIGN OF STUDENT SERVICES

At every site in the sample, services were delivered to students at the schools. These services took the form of classroom instruction and comprehensive health, nutrition, psychological, and social services as mandated in the regulations. One site reported that the comprehensive services were delivered to the students at the district level.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES ADDRESSED TO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Objectives for parent education, career development, parental participation in the instructional and decision-making processes were all found. Typically, these objectives were couched in terms of the activities that were going to be provided for the purpose of involving parents in the Follow Through project. For example, projects described their objectives as involving parents in their children's instruction by having parents in classroom aides position. However, four of the projects mentioned communicating with parents (e.g., keeping parents aware of program plans and implementation) as an objective; and five of the projects mentioned decision making as an objective (e.g., parents should be more involved in planning and decision making). Other objectives that were mentioned included giving parents opportunities to enhance skills and learn about children, encouraging parents to become involved in community affairs, enhancing parents' social and educational skills, improving their economic standards, etc. It should be noted that project objectives did not always become operational; i.e., although provisions for a structured home

teaching component may have been mentioned as an objective, the component may not have been operational at the time of data collection. Three of the projects reported no objectives for parental involvement activities.

PROJECT PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Projects' provisions for parental involvement (that is, what projects actually did) are the principal focus for this report. Table 3-1 summarizes the major provisions reported by sites. All of the projects had provisions for parents becoming involved on the school or project PAC. All of the projects had parents as classroom aides or temporary aides. Over 85 percent of the projects mentioned parent education activities in which parents could participate; and over 60 percent of the projects had career development programs. The next largest mention was that of non-instructional support volunteers, followed by classroom volunteers. Involving parents as instructors of their own children at home was the least mentioned activity; only six sites mentioned home teaching activities.

PROJECT PERSONNEL

At the district level, all projects were administered by a Project Director or Coordinator. Some of the larger districts had a Federal Programs Director overseeing the Project Director. Managerial tasks were often shared with the Parent Coordinator or Staff Trainer.

The number of project staff playing a role in parental involvement was large and included various tasks. Nine sites had four or more staff members involved with parents, and all had more than one person whose job entailed working with the parents of the served children. Project Directors, Staff Trainers and Parent Coordinators were the three staff positions most commonly noted as being involved with parents. At several sites aides were mentioned as being among the key staff involved in parental involvement activities. A more detailed description of the nature and extent of involvement by project staff occurs in the chapters that follow.

III. PROJECT FUNDING

Table 3-2 presents information on a number of funding-related variables. These data should be interpreted with some caution, for we are not confident about their quality. As we attempted to obtain funding information during both the Federal Programs Survey and the Site Study, we encountered two significant problems that made us unsure about our findings. First, many projects did not have available in one location the type of information we sought; this frequently meant that respondents had to go to multiple sources for answers to our questions and had to report data about which they had no direct knowledge. Second, and probably most important, there were no consistent methods used by sites to account for parental involvement funds. Different districts included different items as costs of parental involvement. Some districts, for example, included the salary of a Parent Coordinator; other districts that also had a Parent Coordinator would include that person's salary under a personnel line, rather than under parental involvement. This lack of uniformity across sites meant that there was no way of knowing whether respondents had the same referent as they answered our questions.

Accordingly, we present the following information with some reservations. As we discuss the findings we will point out the degree of our confidence in them, based on our assessment of the quality of the underlying data.

FUNDING LEVELS

With one exception, district Follow Through grants were fairly similar in size, ranging from three sites receiving \$195,000 to Silvertown's \$440,000. Only Compass had an unusually large grant, at 1.1 million dollars. District grant sizes appear to bear little relationship to size of community; the Compass site was located in a major city, but Silvertown, a rather small community, received substantially more Follow Through money than Johns, a major urban center.

This apparent lack of relationship between district size and grant size is in part an artifact of how the data were reported. In some cases the figures for large districts were for an entire district grant, while those for other large city districts were for a sub-district grant. Even when variations in reporting are considered, however, the relationship between district size and grant size is imperfect and can be attributed to regional differences in costs and to the experimental nature of Follow Through projects. Unlike other programs, Follow Through is not a service program committed to serving all eligible children. Thus, with some exceptions, projects tend to be roughly comparable in size across school districts.

The figures for school grants varied greatly, ranging from as little as \$10,000 in Vale to \$230,000 in Silvertown. Again, these data are difficult to interpret because of differences in the sites' accounting practices. Some included aide and/or Follow Through staff salaries in their computation of school allocations; others did not. Consequently, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from the table.

While we also sought data on all funds available to a district (entertaining the possibility that district wealth might relate to level of parental involvement activities), there were far too much missing data to allow for the determination of patterns. Seven of the 16 districts could not provide information on local or state funding.

Finally, per-pupil expenditure was requested, again as an indirect measure of district wealth. While we obtained such data from all districts and found a range from \$618 to \$2,700 per pupil, we believe that different accounting practices may account for district-to-district differences as much as actual variations in dollars spent per student.

CONTROL OF EXPENDITURES

At the district level we found Follow Through funds were controlled by different persons or groups. In seven cases the Follow Through Project Director

was reported to be significant. Typically, funds were controlled, wholly or in part, by a district financial officer in the central district office. There were two cases of a school superintendent exerting some control.

There was little control over Follow Through funds at the school level, except at sites where Follow Through was totally contained within one school. Only two sites with multi-school projects (Silvertown and Compass) reported any influence by principals over project expenditures.

ALLOCATIONS TO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The amount of money allocated for parental involvement ranged from \$93,000 to \$978 at the district level and from \$35,000 to none at the school level. These figures are again misleading, however, because of differences in the ways sites reported cost data to us. Some included aide salaries and salaries for Parent Coordinators in these categories, while others did not. Aside from salaries, sites reported using these funds for advisory committee expenses, materials, travel, training, stipends, parent room expenses, and cost-reimbursement.

TIMING OF FUNDING

An overall objective for the Site Study was to see if the time at which funds were received affected parental involvement. As Table 3-2 shows, most sites received their funds either in the spring or fall. Four sites reported receiving funds in the summer. Again, these data suffer from a lack of comparability; respondents frequently indicated only when the district or the schools received funds. In general, Follow Through funds are dispersed similarly across all participating sites.

IV. ROLE OF THE SPONSOR

After several modifications, the Follow Through program was finally implemented in 1968 as a "planned variation experiment." The focus of that experiment was the evaluation of 22 alternative approaches to instruction (called "models") that were developed and implemented at the local level by university groups and/or research and development organizations collectively known as "sponsors." Each sponsor was affiliated locally with education agencies committed to implementing the sponsor's educational approach in selected schools. The sponsors were to serve several important functions in these implementing schools:*

- Provide the community with a well-defined, theoretically consistent and coherent instructional approach that could be adapted to local conditions.
- Provide the continuous technical assistance, training and guidance necessary for local implementation of the approach.
- Monitor the progress of total program implementation.
- Serve as an agent for change as well as a source of program constancy.
- Provide a foundation for comprehending and describing results of evaluation efforts.

The Follow Through regulations do not specify a role for sponsors in the parental involvement components of projects. However, they could become involved if their instructional model called for parental participation.

*From Stebbens, L. et al., Education as Experimentation: A Planned Variation Model, Vol. IV-A. Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates. April, 1977.

When selecting sites for the Site Study, sponsorship was not a consideration. Consequently, there are fewer sponsors represented (ten) than there are sites, and several of the parental involvement models were not included in our sample. One site (Johns) was self-sponsored. Four others (Charles, Circle City, Hooper, and Mineburg) shared the same sponsor. Vale and Violet both had the same sponsor, as did Silvertown and Golden. The remaining seven sites represented seven different sponsors.

As part of the data collection in the Site Study, Field Researchers were asked to examine the place of parental involvement in the sponsors' instructional model and the roles actually played by sponsor staff on site. This basic information was supplemented at SDC by analyses of various sponsor and USOE documents that describe sponsor models.*

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN SPONSORS' MODELS

The ten sponsors included in the Site Study represent about half of the 19 sponsors in the overall Follow Through program. Although these ten sponsors varied in their emphasis on parental involvement, each was reportedly supportive of parental involvement in schools. Some, however, were more active in working toward that involvement than were others. Only one sponsor, Point's, could be said to have had an instructional model that focused primarily on parents; the other nine were classroom instructional models that involved parents to different degrees. The basic patterns among these ten sponsors in each function area are described below.

*For example, the Final Evaluation Report, prepared by Abt Associates and the report of the Follow Through Implementation Study, prepared by Nero and Associates.

- Parental Involvement in Governance. Seven of the ten sponsors represented in the sample were said to support parental involvement in project governance. These were the sponsors associated with the following sites: Compass, Westland, Woodville, Falling Waters, Sereni, Golden/Silvertown, and Lincoln.
- Parental Involvement in Instruction. All of the sponsors supported parental involvement in some aspect of instruction. Sponsors at 13 sites called for parents as classroom aides; those at seven sites advocated parents as volunteers in the classroom; and ten sites had sponsors that called for parental involvement in teaching their own children at home. One sponsor, Point's, concentrated specifically on involving parents in teaching their own children at home. Another, associated with Charles, Circle City, Hooper, and Mineburg, actually prescribed three aides in each classroom, two of whom were to be parents.
- Parent Education. Seven sponsors advocated some form of parent education, either parent instruction or career development for paraprofessionals. Sponsors varied considerably, though, in their perception of just what parent education should be. One, for example, called for full-time parent trainees, or stipended parents paid for a period of classroom training in preparation for becoming classroom aides. Another sponsor envisioned parent education as community awareness workshops.
- Parental Involvement in Non-Instructional Support Services. No sponsor called for parental involvement in what has been called "non-instructional support services" in this study.
- School-Community Relations. Seven models address this aspect of parental involvement in the same manner. Three see specific staff acting as liaisons between the school and parents; four specifically advocate home visits by project staff.

THE ROLE OF SPONSORS IN PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Sites, even those implementing the same model, varied in the role actually played by their sponsor in promoting parental involvement. To large extent, the participation by the sponsor in a project's parental involvement program depended on the particular interests and beliefs of the individual consultant working with that site. It was not at all uncommon for sites with the same sponsor to report very different roles for that sponsor in parental involvement efforts of their project.

Most sponsors concentrated on training parents to work effectively in the classroom. Usually, this training focused on classroom aides, with the sponsor either conducting the training itself, training local staff to conduct the training, or providing training materials. In some cases, parent volunteers were included in these activities along with aides (see Chapter 6).

Eight sponsors participated in some manner in PAC activities. Four simply attended PAC meetings when on-site, but four others offered technical assistance to the PACs in the form of handbooks, copies of regulations, etc. Only one sponsor, Woodville's, actually participated in training and advising PAC members on how to become involved more fully in project decision making.

A final role played by sponsors was in training or orientating parents in the instructional model. Six sponsors provided workshops or materials designed (a) to familiarize parents with the approach followed in the project; and (b) to acquaint them with home activities to reinforce children's classroom experiences.

Overall then, most of the sponsors included in the Site Study were supportive of parent involvement activities at their local sites. They varied, however, in the nature and extent of assistance provided. The effects of their involvement will be examined in subsequent chapters of this report.

COMMUNITY				DISTRICT			SCHOOL				PROJECT				SPECIAL FEATURES	
SITE	LOCATION	NATURE	ETHNICITY	ENROLLMENT	PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE	OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS	ENROLLMENT	LOW INCOME STUDENTS	NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING	ETHNICITY	YEARS IN FT	GRANT SIZE	SERVICES	KEY PI PERSONNEL		PROVISIONS FOR PI
CHARLES	Northeast	Large city	B: 60% H: 40%	250,000+	\$2,700	ESSA TI TVII	900	98%	40%	B: 60% H: 40%	11	\$230,000	Classroom instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD	PE Parent Trainee PAC	There is considerable conflict between the Blacks and Hispanics, which results in neither group participating. In addition, due to the district hiring an Hispanic as PC, angry Black parents have stopped participating -- the PAC hadn't met since 2/80, PE classes were not attended.
CIRCLE CITY	Midwest	Large city	B: 90% W: 10%	80,000	\$1,500	TI	500 No data	75% No data	1% 1%	B: 99%; W: 1% B: 50%; W: 50%	13	\$225,000	Classroom instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC ST	PAC Aides NI Vol	This is a low- to moderate-income area with pockets of upper- to middle-class Whites living on the fringe. At school A no students were bused. At school B, White students are bused in. Court ordered busing has affected school B and not school A which is not integrated but is part of an urban renewal project.
COMPASS	Midwest	Large city	B: 100%	250,000+	\$1,700	TI TVII	800 500	100% 100%	0 0	B: 100% B: 100%	11	\$1.1M	Classroom instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST PC	PAC State PAC PE Aides Vols CD NI Vol	The two sample schools are located in a very poor Black community which has a typical pattern for large city poverty areas: gangs, high unemployment, high crime rate, low education among adults and considerable fear for personal safety.
FALLING WATERS	Northwest	Middle size city	W: 90% NA: 10%	17,000	\$1,600	None	600	75%	No data	NA: 33% W: 65% H: 2%	12	\$175,000	Classroom instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PCs SW	PAC Aides PE CD	The area is mostly low income. The school is within walking distance, but a small group of students are bused in from the north side of town because they were in FT before their parents moved. The population of the area is extremely transitory. Over 100% turnover rate of children in the school last year.

LEGEND

ETHNICITY

A = Asian
B = Black
W = White
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American

FUNDING

ESAA = Emergency School Aid Act
TI = Title I
TVII = Title VII

STAFF

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
ST = Staff Trainer
SW = Social Worker
Fed Pgm Dir = Federal Program Director

PROVISIONS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

PE = Parent Education
PAC = Policy Advisory Committee
Vols = Classroom Volunteers
NI Vol = Non-Instructional Volunteers
CD = Career Development

Table 3-1. Site Capsule Summaries

COMMUNITY				DISTRICT			SCHOOL				PROJECT					SPECIAL FEATURES
SITE	LOCATION	NATURE	ETHNICITY	ENROLLMENT	PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE	OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS	ENROLLMENT	LOW INCOME STUDENTS	NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING	ETHNICITY	YEARS IN FT	GRANT SIZE	SERVICES	KEY PI PERSONNEL	PROVISIONS FOR PI	
GOLDEN	Midwest	Large city	B 100%	82,000	\$1,400	ESAA TI	400	95%	0%	B: 90%; W: 10%	12	\$325,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST PC Aides	PAC Aides Vols PE CD NI Vol	Most children come from a high-rise housing project. The area in which the 2 schools are located has deteriorated tremendously. There are few businesses and many empty apartments in the high rise project. Crime level is fairly high. Both schools are adjacent to one another, within walking distance.
							500	95%	0%	B: 90%; W: 10%						
HOOPER	Northeast	Large city	B 98% H. 2%	250,000+	\$2,700	TI TVII	2,200	95%	17%	H. 65%, B 3%	12	\$230,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC ST	PAC Parent Trainee NI Vol	Located in a major urban area, the FT program is physically isolated from the rest of the elementary program. It is housed in a separate middle school building and has very little contact of any kind with the rest of the school. Many of the local residents are on welfare.
JDHNS CO.	Southeast	Large city	B 95% H 3% Other 2%	225,000	\$1,700	ESAA TI TVII	900	99%	0	B 100%	13	\$380,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	District Fed Pgm Dir PD PC ST	PAC Aides PE CD NI Vol	Very low education level among residents. There is much unemployment and many on welfare. The district is under court ordered desegregation plan. Study schools were not affected because they are walk-in. However, the teachers are also desegregated so the two study schools have many White teachers and no White students.
							400	80%	15%	B 95% Other 5%						
LINCOLN CO.	Midwest	Rural	W 50% NA 50%	800	\$ 600	TI	300	93%	5%	NA: 98%, W 2%	12	\$370,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC	PAC Aides	Minority population feels alienated from schools. Program was discontinued in 1981 because of parental action.
							50	99%	0	NA: 98%; W 2%						

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CD = Career Development

Table 3-1. Site Capsule Summaries (Continued)

COMMUNITY				DISTRICT			SCHOOL				PROJECT					SPECIAL FEATURES
SITE	LOCATION	NATURE	ETHNICITY	ENROLLMENT	PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE	OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS	ENROLLMENT	LOW INCOME STUDENTS	NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING	ETHNICITY	YEARS IN FT	GRANT SIZE	SERVICES	KEY PI PERSONNEL	PROVISIONS FOR PI	
MINEBURG	Northeast	Middle size city	No Data	11,000	\$1,400	T1	500	47%	1%	W: 80%, B: 20%	10	\$195,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST PC Aides	PAC Aides PE CD	Both schools are community schools that offer programs for adults and children. This creates an atmosphere conducive to adults being around and accepting the school as theirs.
							500	47%	0%	W: 60%; B: 40%						
POINT	Northeast	Large city	B 100%	250,000+	\$2,700	T1 TVII	500	98%	1%	B: 100%	12	\$230,000	Classroom Instruction Home visits Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST PC Aides	PAC Aides PE Home tutor NI Vol	A very poor area with many burned out and vacant homes. Many families forced to move as a result of the fires. There has been a serious decline in enrollment. School may be closed down because of "underutilization."
SERENITY	Midwest	Large city	W 60% B 40%	45,000	\$1,700	T1	500	77%	0	W: 60%; B: 40%	11	\$325,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC Aides SW	PE CD Aides Vols Home tutor	The city and school district are in a state of transition. Population has decreased steadily. Industries have left the city taking jobs and people with them. School enrollment has also decreased. District is in the midst of desegregation planning. Both schools are walk-ins.
							700	No Data	0	B: 90%, W: 10%						
SILVERTOWN	Southeast	Small town	No data	6,000	\$1,500	ESAA T1	1,000	85%	1%	B 75%, W: 25%	12	\$440,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST Aides	Home tutor PAC School PACs Aides Vols PE CD	Integration of FT program with rest of district's program makes it difficult to determine where FT ends and school program begins.
							400	70%	0	B: 75%; W: 25%						

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TVII = Title VII
FT = Follow Through

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CD = Career Development

Table 3-1. Site Capsule Summaries (Continued)

COMMUNITY				DISTRICT			SCHOOLS				PROJECT					SPECIAL FEATURES
SITE	LOCATION	NATURE	ETHNICITY	ENROLLMENT	PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE	OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS	ENROLLMENT	LOW INCOME STUDENTS	NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING	ETHNICITY	YEARS IN FT ²	GRANT SIZE	SERVICES	KEY PI PERSONNEL	PROVISIONS FOR PI	
VALE CD.	Southeast	Small town	No Data	26,000	\$1,400	ESAA TI	700 600	13% 33%	7% 1%	W 60%; B 40% W 75%; B 25%	10	\$265,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC ST	PAC Aides Vols PE CD	A small community located near a military base. Most children at school A (a Magnet school) are bused. The other school is accessible by public transportation. Magnet school children actually come from all over the district.
VIDLET	Northeast	Large city	B 98% W 2%	250,000+	\$2,700	TI TVII	600	100%	0%	B 100%	12	\$230,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD PC	PAC Parent Trainees PE NI Vol	There seems to be conflict between parents and staff. This is a politically active school with several community leaders involved in the running of the school.
WESTLAND	Northwest	Middle size city	W: 90% Other 10%	12,000	\$1,000	TI	300 700	35% 31%	5% 1%	W 90%, Other 10% W 75%, NA 25%	10	\$270,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social Services	PD ST PC Supt	PAC Aides Vols PE Home tutor CD	This district is poor. Busing exists because of space problems in the school. School A is within walking distance. School B is accessible by private car only and most students are bused in. There is no public transportation in the area. Indian students who don't attend school on their reservations are bused to school B. (Reservation is in another district.
WOODVILLE	Northeast	Small town	W 100%	6,000	\$1,800	TI	400 300	86% 33%	0 0	W 100% W 100%	12	\$195,000	Classroom Instruction + Comprehensive Health/Social	PD PC ST	PAC Aides Vols PC CD Home tutor NI Vol	The majority of residents are low income, the few middle-upper residents do not play a role in FT. It is an area of violent domestic confrontations, high crime, high unemployment, and low education level. Schools A and B are in walking distance.

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NI Vol = Non-Instructional Volunteers
CD = Career Development

Table 3-1. Site Capsule Summaries (Continued)

		FALLING WATERS	MINE- BURG	WOOD- VILLE	CIRCLE CITY	CHARLES	HOOVER	POINT	VIOLET	VALE	WESTLAND	GOLDEN	SERENITY	LINCOLN	JOHNS	SILVER- TOWN	COMPASS
DISTRICT GRANT		175K	195K	195K	225K	230K*	230K*	230K*	230K*	265K	270K	325K	325K	370K	380K	440K	1.1M
CONTROL AT DISTRICT LEVEL		PD	PD, Central Office	PD	No Data	Central Office	Central Office	Central Office	Central Office	PD, PC	Supt	Central Office	PD	Supt. BOE	Central Office	PD	PD, Central Office
SCHOOL GRANTS		170,000 -	95,000 95,000	40,000 40,000	45,000 No data	105,000 -	100,000 -	115,000 -	115,000 -	10,000 25,000	No data No data	105,000 225,000	120,000 No data	100,000 13,000	60,000 30,000	230,000 60,000	140,000 75,000
CONTROL AT SCHOOL LEVEL		None	None	None	None	PD	None	PD, PAC	PC	None	None	None	None	None	None	PD, PR	PD, PR
PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURE		1600	1400	1800	1500	2700	2700	2700	2700	1400	1000	1400	1700	600	1700	1500	1700
OTHER DISTRICT FUNDS	OTHER FEDERAL	2.9M	780K	500K	11.2M	4.1M	4.1M	3.1M	3.1M	5.4M	2.0M	11.5M	49.7M	2.4M	15M	2.5M	58.4M
	STATE FUNDS	14.5M	295K	500K	9.4M	No data	No data	No data	No data	29.7M	8.4M	No data	33.6M	1.6M	No data	6M	No data
	LOCAL	14.9M	60K	7.3M	1M	No data	No data	No data	No data	6M	6.7M	No data	43.2M	365K	No data	1.5M	No data
DISTRICT PI ALLOCATIONS		28,175**	93,570**	1000	3400	2600	2600	2600	2600	26,000**	27,000	12,400**	44,000**	12,400**	2000	11,000	6000
SCHOOL PI ALLOCATIONS		None	None	None	None	36,500**	12,600	2200	1800	None	2800	None	None	3400	None	No Data	No Data
NO. YEARS STUDY SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN FUNDED		12	3 5	12 7	13 13	12 -	12 -	12 -	12 -	4 4	6 8	12 12	3 3	12 12	9 9	12 12	11 11
WHEN FUNDS RECEIVED		Summer	Summer	Fall	Fall	D: Spring S: Fall	D: Spring S: Fall	D: Spring S: Fall	D: Spring S: Fall	Quarterly	Quarterly	Summer	Summer	Spring	Fall	Fall	D: Spring S: Fall

* Figures are for subdistrict within larger district.

** Includes aide and/or Parent Coordinator* salaries

LEGEND.

CONTROL

PD = Project Director
BOE = Board of Education
Supt = Superintendent
PR = Principal
PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

FUNDS

K = Thousands
M = Millions
D = District
S = School

Table 3-2. Funding Information

CHAPTER 4

THE COORDINATION OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the general roles and activities of individuals who coordinate project-related activities for parents of Follow Through students. We decided to examine Parent Coordinators because of the potential influence we thought they might have on the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities offered by Follow Through projects. We examined individuals who were specifically designated by the project to coordinate parent activities, as well as those individuals who assumed such responsibilities while actually fulfilling another full-time role.

Within Follow Through, the position of Parent Coordinator (also known as Home Liaison, School-Community Representative, Parent Involvement Specialist, and other titles at different sites) is specifically mentioned in the Follow

Through regulations. When we conducted the Federal Programs Survey, it became apparent that most Follow Through sites had full- or part-time persons performing parent coordination duties at the project or school level. Nationwide, it was estimated that 92 percent of the Follow Through projects, and 80 percent of the Follow Through schools, provided parent coordination. These FPS data proved to be consistent with our Site Study findings: of the 16 sites studied, 15 (93%) had at least one full-time staff member responsible for coordinating parent activities. (The sixteenth site--Point--had phased out its Parent Coordinator position several years before, but another staff member had taken over coordination responsibility in addition to her other duties.) Parent coordination generally occurred at the project level, although four sites (Johns, Compass, Mineburg and Woodville) also had school-level coordinators.

At 14 sites, parent coordination was under the leadership of a specific staff person, who may or may not have had assistance from other staff or parents. At the fifteenth site (Silvertown) the coordination of activities involving parents was specific to each function area, and no overall coordination was provided. Although there were staff called "Parent Coordinators" at this site, they functioned more as clerical support for other professional staff.

In addition to staff formally designated as Parent Coordinators, eight sites also relied on other staff to perform occasional coordination duties for the PAC, the volunteer component, parent education and comprehensive services. At two sites (Point and Hooper) the PAC chairperson took an active role in coordinating parent activities, along with the Parent Coordinators.

In this report we will follow the convention of referring to all persons who handled parent coordination as Parent Coordinators, regardless of their unique titles within their own projects. Also, we will discuss district-level and school-level Parent Coordinators in the aggregate, in recognition of the significant overlap in their activities.

Section II of the chapter takes up the general roles fulfilled by Parent Coordinators; Section III discusses the characteristics of the individuals fulfilling parent coordination positions, and Section IV describes the activities of Parent Coordinators. Finally, in Section V we summarize and discuss our findings regarding Parent Coordinators in Follow Through projects.

II. ROLE OF THE PARENT COORDINATOR

By whatever title the person was known, Parent Coordinators were defined in this study as individuals who had full- or part-time responsibility for developing and coordinating parent participation in Follow Through activities. Following our conceptual framework, parents could (a) be members of advisory councils, (b) be part of the instructional process, (c) take part in parent education offerings, (d) provide non-instructional support to the school or project, and (e) take part in community-school relations activities. We found that Parent Coordinators provided four basic services in these functional areas of parental involvement: facilitation, communication, administration, and training.

In the roles as facilitators of parental involvement activities, Parent Coordinators performed a number of duties. They were generally responsible for contacting speakers, locating resource persons and materials, securing meeting rooms, providing refreshments, decorations, transportation, baby-sitting and making arrangements appropriate to particular events like advisory council meetings, open houses, banquets, and training sessions. In addition, Parent Coordinators frequently conceived of, organized, and contributed to the planning and designing of such events and, in some cases, were responsible for actually conducting them. The success of these events was usually dependent on the Parent Coordinator's ability to recruit parents to attend.

During the Federal Programs Survey, respondents were requested to indicate the two activities engaged in most frequently by Parent Coordinators. We found that 36 percent of the districts and 48 percent of the schools indicated that recruiting parents was one of the most frequent activities.

In addition to their role as facilitator, Parent Coordinators served as a primary conveyor of information among the project, schools, and parents. As communicators, they produced newsletters, flyers, letters, and announcements informing parents of events and inviting their participation. They held or

attended meetings at which they informed parents about events, plans, and policies. Parent Coordinators were relied upon by school and project staff members to act as a general liaison with the community by mail, by telephone, and in person. Most Parent Coordinators made home visits as part of their recruiting and communicating efforts, and a few visited homes to monitor home tutoring programs. Because Parent Coordinators were frequently from the communities they serve, respondents reported that parents felt more comfortable with coordinators than with administrators and teachers and were willing to discuss school and project concerns with the coordinators.

The Federal Programs Survey reflected these findings. In 39 percent of the districts respondents indicated that informing parents of school and district policies and events was one of the two most frequent activities of Parent Coordinators. In addition, 31 percent of the projects said that coordinating invitations to parents to inform them about school activities and policies was a major task. As facilitators and communicators, Parent Coordinators were required to provide administrative and clerical services. They maintained records of participating and non-participating parents, catalogued resources, and handled correspondence. Some coordinators helped parents draft letters and translated for parents if requested to do so. In general, Parent Coordinators engaged in numerous tasks associated with maintaining an office and, if in a supervisory position, also handled related administrative duties.

Finally, Parent Coordinators acted as trainers and counselors of parents participating in the project. Because Parent Coordinators frequently both came from the community served by the project and had worked successfully in the school system, they often functioned to train parents in the skills needed to work effectively in the schools and community. This instructional role ranged from individual counseling to actually conducting workshops.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENT COORDINATORS

We noted earlier that Parent Coordinators were found at 15 of the 16 projects in the Site Study. Many sites had more than one individual assigned to coordination of parent activities. Information about the characteristics of Parent Coordinators is displayed in Table 4-1.

From the data in Table 4-1 and from other information not displayed in the table, several general findings emerge regarding the attributes of coordinators:

- They were predominantly women.
- They were older than the typical Follow Through parent.
- With two exceptions (Falling Waters and Lincoln), they were representative of the major ethnic group served by the project.
- They tended to be better educated than the average Follow Through parent; all had either a college or high school education.
- They came from paraprofessional rather than professional ranks.
- They had a history of community involvement, many having been active in Head Start, churches, and non-Follow Through affairs.
- Few had any formal training, relying instead on on-the-job experience to teach them their jobs.

Beyond these attributes, there were two others worth discussing in some detail: those relating to attitudes and to selection of Parent Coordinators.

ATTITUDES

Parent Coordinators were consistently supportive of Follow Through and of parental involvement in general, although they varied somewhat in their views of the appropriate form for the involvement. At many sites, they were supportive of parental involvement in all areas--instruction, governance, parent education, and school support functions. In Woodville, for example, the coordinator felt strongly that there should be no limitations on the roles played by parents in the project, and lobbied vigorously for increased parental participation in governance, the classroom, and the school. In contrast, the Parent Coordinator at Vale also supported parental involvement, but in a more restricted sense. She believed that parents should be involved in parent education and in supporting the project, but felt that it was "dangerous" for them to become involved in the classroom or in decision making until they were "ready"--i.e., until they had received enough training to function effectively. The consequence of this belief, however, was that parents played no role in governance and a limited role in the classroom at Vale.

Attitudes toward parental involvement were of course closely associated with attitudes toward parents in general. The Woodville Parent Coordinator, for example, held parents in high regard and felt they were capable of doing anything the district would allow. The Vale coordinator, in contrast, felt that parents were uneducated and incompetent to contribute much to the schools. She felt that Blacks in the community could not enter meaningful roles until they were better educated and saw the Follow Through program as means to the education.

SELECTION

The Follow Through data reflect the fact that there is no one source of Parent Coordinators. Unlike teachers and administrators, who come out of recognized university training programs with professional certification, Parent Coordinators can come to their positions through a variety of routes. Several

of the coordinators in the Site Study had had backgrounds in Head Start; others had worked as paraprofessionals in Follow Through. Most were chosen because of their familiarity with the program and the community.

There was a general feeling expressed at several sites that Parent Coordinators should come from the community and be familiar with the home environments of the children and families participating in that project. Two sites reported difficulties that arose when an applicant for the Parent Coordinator position did not meet these criteria. At one of these (Charles), a Parent Coordinator who was not of the same ethnicity as most parents in the project was hired from outside the community. As a result, parental involvement in governance, the classroom, and school withered.

IV. ACTIVITIES OF PARENT COORDINATORS

Table 4-2 presents information on the activities of Parent Coordinators in six areas. Each of these is discussed below.

INVOLVEMENT WITH PROJECT GOVERNANCE

Parent Coordinators worked with the PAC at all but two of the Site Study sites. Their activities in this area included recruiting parent members, encouraging members to attend meetings, planning and arranging meetings, facilitating attendance by providing transportation or child care, implementing PAC decisions, organizing PAC-sponsored activities, and training new PAC members. Most of the Parent Coordinators worked with the PAC as non-voting advisors.

In several sites, such as Mineburg, Parent Coordinators did more than support PAC functioning; they became the leaders of the group, guiding PAC decisions and operations.

INVOLVEMENT WITH THE EDUCATION FUNCTION

Parent Coordinators were active in recruiting parents for both classroom volunteers and aide positions. At some sites they coordinated visits to the home to instruct and/or monitor parents who were working with children in the home. Parent Coordinators also served as a link between aides and project staff at a number of sites, articulating aides' grievances to the project director and, in turn, communicating the projects' positions to aides.

Frequently, however, the Parent Coordinator's position in the educational component of projects was limited to recruiting parents. Once recruited, the training and monitoring of those volunteers was often handled by the Staff Trainer.

INVOLVEMENT WITH PARENT EDUCATION

At all sites offering parent education activities, Parent Coordinators were the staff members responsible for implementation of those activities. As defined in this study, parent education is limited to (a) activities for the personal development of parents, and (b) career development activities for project paraprofessionals. Generally, Parent Coordinators were more likely to be involved with the former types of parent education activities than with career development. Parent Coordinators typically took major responsibility for planning, organizing, and conducting a wide range of parent education workshops and for coordinating activities in parent rooms provided by projects.

Where Parent Coordinators did become involved in career development programs, their role was usually limited to keeping lists of community resources available to paraprofessionals and to recording parent participation in academic programs.

INVOLVEMENT WITH NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT

As we shall see in Chapter 8, non-instructional support services were a common means of parental involvement in the Follow Through Site Study projects. Parent Coordinators played a key role in organizing and facilitating these activities by recruiting parents for fundraising activities, by enlisting parents to chaperone field trips, by planning social events for the project, etc.

INVOLVEMENT WITH COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

At most sites Parent Coordinators were active in communications between parents and their school and were seen as a major link between parents and their schools. Administrators relied on coordinators to keep parents informed of project and school activities. Also, coordinators conceived of and organized social events, open houses, Follow Through orientation sessions, and

other methods directed toward the exchange of information about the Follow Through project. Perhaps because of their roots in the communities served by the project, Parent Coordinators frequently became advocates for parents, articulating parent concerns to project and school personnel.

INVOLVEMENT IN COMPREHENSIVE SERVICES

All Follow Through projects are required to provide a wide range of medical, dental, and social services to participating families. Parent Coordinators frequently took a key role in providing those services. Activities in this area included referring parents to appropriate community agencies; assisting with arrangements for transportation, child care and translation; and counseling parents who were having difficulties receiving services. In their role as advocates for parents, generally, Parent Coordinators frequently devoted a considerable portion of their time to this component.

V. DISCUSSION

Parent Coordinators, by whatever title, were widespread and active in Follow Through. Almost all sites had at least one, and some had several staff members assigned to coordinating parent activities. They provided important liaison between project and school professionals on the one hand and sometimes recalcitrant parent population on the other; they recruited parents for a variety of roles in the school. Perhaps most important, Parent Coordinators at some of the more active sites served as persistent advocates for increased parental participation in all phases of project activities. The intensity with which many Parent Coordinators worked was often striking. Several reported working well over 40 hours a week, and at least two school-level coordinators worked entirely on their own time, in addition to their other project duties.

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, Parent Coordinators were an important, contributory factor in the success of site parental involvement programs. They varied as to what areas they felt were important and sometimes channeled their energies into one area at the expense of others. Our study suggests, though, that when Parent Coordinators chose to concentrate on a particular form of parental involvement, they were frequently successful.

	CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN	MINE-BURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVER-TOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WEST-LAND	WOOD-VILLE
NUMBER AND SEX	2 Female	1 Female	3 Female	2 Female	1 Female	2 Female	4 Female	1 Female	2 Female	1 Female	3 Female	3 Female	2 Female	1 Female	1 Female	1 Female
TYPE	2 Project	1 Project	1 Project 2 School	2 Project	1 Project	2 Project	1 Project 3 School	1 Project	2 School	1 Project	3 Project	3 Project	2 Project	1 Project	1 Project	1 Project 1 School
AGE	No data	50+	1 30s 1 40s 1 No data	1 50+ 1 30s	1 40s	1 40s 1 No data	3 40s 1 No data	No data	1 50+ 1 30s	50+	1 50+ 2 No data	1 40s 1 No data	1 50+ 1 No data	No data	50+	2 40s
ETHNICITY	1B, 1W	W	3B	2W	1B	1H, 1B	3B, 1H	W	1W, 1B	1B	1B, 2 No data	3B	1B, 1 No data	1B	1W	2W
EDUCATION	No data	No data	1 C+ 2 No data	1 C 1 No data	1 C	No data	1 C 3 HS	No data	1 C 1 No data	1 C	1 C+ 2 No data	1 HS 2 No data	1 C 1 No data	HS	HS	1 C 1 No data
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE	No data	PP	1 Head Start PC 1 PP 1 Vol	1 ST 1 No data	PAC Chair, PP	1 Vol 1 No data	1 T 1 PP 1 Vol	No data	1 Community work 1 PP	PP	1 T 2 PP	1 PP 2 No data	1 T 1 No data	No data	No data	1 PP 1 T
TRAINING	No data	Social services	OJT	Sponsor workshop	OJT	OJT	Inservice	No data	OJT	OJT	Inservice	OJT	OJT	No data	OJT, Sponsor	OJT
ATTITUDE TOWARD PROJECT	No data	●	●	●	No data	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
ATTITUDE TOWARD PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT	No data	●	◐	●	No data	●	●	◐	●	●	●	●	◐	●	●	●
ATTITUDE TOWARD PARENTS	No data	●	◐	●	No data	●	No data	●	●	●	●	●	◐	●	◐	●

LEGEND

ETHNICITY

B - Black
H - Hispanic
W - White

EDUCATION

HS - High School
C - College
C+ - Some Graduate Training

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

PP - Paraprofessional
T - Follow Through Teacher
Vol - Volunteer
PAC Chair - Policy Advisory Committee Chairperson

TRAINING

OJT - On The Job Training

ATTITUDES

● - Very Positive
◐ - Positive
○ - Neutral
◑ - Negative

Table 4-1. Characteristics of Parent Coordinators

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLOEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
PROJECT GOVERNANCE		Organize PAC meetings Does not attend PAC Implements PAC decisions	Organized PAC meeting Advise PAC	Active participants Technical assistance	Organize PAC meeting Train PAC Attend PAC meeting	Organize PAC meeting Advise Behind scenes leadership	Liaison Translate Attend PAC meeting	Organize PAC meeting Attend PAC meeting Train	Recruits PAC members Attends PAC meetings Organize PAC meeting
EDUCATION	PAID AIDES	Organizes PT component	Liaison with district Distribute materials	Train			Recruit (PT) Train (PT)		Recruit
	CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS			Recruit Train		Orient			
	HOME TEACHING								
PARENT EDUCATION		Arrange community speakers		Coordinate workshops	Recruit Conduct workshops		Conduct workshops		
SCHOOL SUPPORT		Recruit volunteers				Organize lobbying		Recruit volunteers	
COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS		Home visits	Liaison	Home visits	Informal liaison	Home visits	Liaison Keep records		
SOCIAL SERVICES		Referrals Assist in making medical arrangements	Dental chaperone Transportation Coordination	Home visits	Home visits Inform. re services Child care Transportation	Inform. re services	Transportation Organizes services Translate		
OTHER PARENT COORDINATION STAFF		None	None	None	Social Worker Project Director	Nurse Staff trainer Home tutor aide	PAC Chairperson	None	None

LEGEND:

PT = Parent Trainees

Table 4-2. Activities of Parent Coordinators

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
PROJECT GOVERNANCE		Recruits PAC members PAC Officer	Logistics Active PAC participation	Organizes PAC meeting Active PAC participation	Logistics Attend PAC meeting	Organize PAC meetings Dominates PAC	Recruits PAC members Logistics Attends PAC meeting	Organized PAC meeting Attend PAC meeting	Organize PAC meeting Attend PAC meeting Implements PAC decisions
EDUCATION	PAID AIDES		Recruit	Recruit Train		Recruit Train	Recruit (PT) Train (PT)		Recruit Train
	CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS		Recruit	Recruit Train		Recruit Train		Recruit	Recruit Train
	HOME TEACHING		Recruit Train Coordinates	Train	Recruit	Recruit Train			Recruit Conduct workshops
PARENT EDUCATION			Coordinates	Conduct workshop Recruit Supervise home PPs	Some training	Coordinates Conducts workshop	Helps with career development	Conducts workshop	Conducts workshop
SCHOOL SUPPORT		Recruit for activities				Coordinates			Coordinates
COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS		Liaison Home visits	Liaison Home visits	Liaison Home visits	Liaison Keep records	Liaison	Liaison Conducts workshop	Liaison Home visits	Liaison Newsletter
SOCIAL SERVICES		Referral Home visits Transportation	Referral Home visits	Home visits	Counseling Referral	Counseling Home visits	Counseling	Home visits	Home visits
OTHER PARENT COORDINATION STAFF		None	Staff trainer	None	Project Director Staff trainer Home tutor aide	Volunteer Coordinator	None	Staff trainer Home tutor aide	Project Director Nutritionist

LEGEND

PT = Parent Trainees
PP = Paraprofessional

Table 4-2. Activities of Parent Coordinators (Continued)

CHAPTER 5

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN FOLLOW THROUGH GOVERNANCE

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the extent to which parents were involved in the governance of Follow Through projects in the Site Study. As we have said, for this study "governance" meant participation in making decisions or establishing policies which can affect project services or activities. More specifically, in the Site Study we looked for instances where parents offered advice to Follow Through staff and it was heeded, or where parents actually made decisions about project activities or policies. We were particularly interested in examining the nature and extent of parental involvement in decisions about (a) the project proposal; (b) classroom content and student services; (c) the hiring or evaluation of project personnel; (d) project expenditures; and (e) parent involvement activities.

This chapter consists of four parts. Part I contains an introduction to governance in Follow Through and an overview of the Study's key findings regarding the role of parents in governance. Part II presents the major Site Study findings on the structure, membership, support, and functioning of Follow Through Policy Advisory Committees (PACs), the principal mechanism in Follow Through for parental involvement in governance.

Part III is an analysis of some of the factors that explain the major findings about parental involvement in governance, along with discussion of personal and institutional outcomes stemming from this involvement. To help communicate the flavor of the PACs studied in the Site Study, an illustrative case study has been included with the discussion. Finally, Part IV will derive some conclusions from these findings for national and local policy makers.

Because they are the principal mechanism established by the Follow Through regulations for involving parents in project governance, this chapter will concentrate on Policy Advisory Committees. Although the structure and overall operations of these councils will be described here, the primary focus will be on governance. As we shall see, though, Follow Through PACs do much more than govern; they are also important mechanisms for school support, communication, and parent education. These other PAC activities will be outlined in this chapter, but the reader is referred to subsequent chapters in this volume for fuller descriptions and analyses of PAC activities in these areas.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNANCE: THE FOLLOW THROUGH REGULATIONS

Parental participation in the governance of Follow Through programs has its roots in the concept of participatory democracy. The concept holds that in a democracy citizens have the right to participate in the formation of policies and decisions that may affect their lives. The concept was formally articulated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA), with the now-famous requirement that poverty programs be developed with the "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and the members of the groups served." Included among the Community Action Programs funded through EOA was Head

Start, where parental participation in the governance of a Federal educational program was first realized. In Follow Through, following Head Start, the concept of "maximum feasible participation" has been interpreted to mean that parents should have a say in their children's education. Educational decision making has traditionally been the province of professionals, with little citizen involvement except through school boards. Poor and/or minority parents have not had access to the decision makers. Congress sought to change this in its legislation creating programs like Follow Through.

The Follow Through program regulations translate the basic intentions expressed in the legislation into specific requirements for local projects. These regulations establish Project Policy Advisory Committees (PACs) as the principal mechanism to parental involvement in project governance. These councils were examined closely in the Site Study. Two other possible mechanisms were also investigated: non-mandate school advisory committees and informal involvement as individuals or as members of organizations other than a Follow Through PAC. In practice, only two of 16 study sites had school advisory committees in operation, and none reported having prominent individuals or other organizations playing a substantial role in project decision making. Therefore, this chapter will concentrate solely on the project PACs.

The Follow Through regulations require that each project must form a Policy Advisory Committee. More than half of the members on these PACs must be low-income parents of children currently served or about to be served by Follow Through. These parent members are to be elected (or re-elected) annually by the total population of low-income Follow Through parents. The remaining members are to be chosen by these parent members from among agencies and organizations in the community that have shown concern for the interests of low-income individuals. These elected parent and invited non-parent members are considered to be voting PAC members. The PAC may also invite representatives from the local education agency, including Follow Through staff, to serve as non-voting advisors to the committee.

The regulations are clear in their insistence that the project PACs must be involved in all phases of local projects' decision making. They say that the proper role of the PAC is to assist with the planning and operation of the project activities and actively participate in decision making concerning those activities. Specific duties for PACs are outlined in the regulations. These duties define three roles for Policy Advisory Committees: (1) they are to participate in all project decisions, but especially in decisions regarding the project proposal, hiring of professional staff, and establishment of criteria for selecting paraprofessional staff; (2) they are to exercise primary decision-making responsibility regarding their own bylaws, the selection of paraprofessional staff, selection and recruitment of eligible children, operation of the grievance procedure, and supervision of the Career Development Committee; and (3) they are to contribute to the general operations of the project and assist the Project Coordinator. The regulations are clear in the expectation that the PAC will be a vital component of each Follow Through project, providing a means for parental participation in shaping and operating the program.

Beyond mandating the composition and duties of the PAC, the regulations also outline certain provisions for support of PAC activities. Each PAC is expected to have its own budget within the larger Follow Through budget to cover operating expenses. These funds, say the regulations, are not to be used to purchase classroom equipment or instructional materials, but may instead be used for general PAC operations or for compensating members who lose wages to attend PAC-related meetings or workshops.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Four major findings relating to PACs and their role in project governance emerge from the data:

- All sites had project PACs, but these PACs tended to be structured and to operate quite differently from PACs described in the Follow Through regulations. Few PACs had elected representatives; few had more than

a handful of parents who attended their meetings; and few involved community representatives at all. At several sites the Executive Committee had essentially replaced the PAC. Further, the actual structure and operations of PACs frequently conflicted not only with the regulations, but with the PACs' own bylaws.

- Although most PACs participated fully in decisions about parent activities, only seven of the 16 PACs studied played more than a token role in project decisions about student services, budget or personnel, and none approached the comprehensive governance role defined for them in the Follow Through regulations.
- There were four relatively distinct patterns of involvement in decisions about student services, project budget, or personnel. At the lowest level were three PACs that had no involvement at all in these decisions; either the PAC did not meet or, if it did meet, it had no input in these areas. Next were four PACs that had only token involvement in these decisions; they did discuss important project matters, but their input had little impact on staff decisions. Third, there were PACs that had major involvement only in decisions about special student activities put on by parents, such as field trips, assemblies or classroom cultural events. Finally, there were seven PACs that had major involvement in decisions about student services, project expenditures, or personnel; at these sites parents' advice was offered in one or more areas, and that advice had a real impact on staff decisions.
- Very few PACs saw governance as their primary function in the project. Even where PACs were actively involved in governance, most saw their primary role in other areas, such as parent education, non-instructional (school) support, or community-school relations.

Each of these findings will be elaborated in the sections that follow.

II. SITE STUDY FINDINGS: PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT ON FOLLOW THROUGH PACs

Four aspects of Follow Through Policy Advisory Committees were examined in the Site Study: their structure and organization, including meeting logistics; the background and characteristics of their parent and non-parent members; project support for PAC activities; and the functioning of the PAC in the Follow Through Project. The results from these investigations are reported in the following sections.

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

Each of the 16 Follow Through projects studied had a project-level Policy Advisory Committee. Table 5-1 summarizes the findings regarding structure and organization of these PACs. The table contains information both on the structure and composition of the PACs (size, composition, etc.) and on the actual meeting practices (location, time, duration, etc.). The variables included on the table were selected from a much larger set of variables investigated by the Field Researchers. Those selected for inclusion on this table are those that either relate directly to provisions in the Follow Through regulations (for example, Composition) or that might help explain differences in the functioning of the PAC, regardless of their status in the regulations (for example, Meeting Leadership).

Several important patterns emerge from this table and are discussed below.

MOST SITES HAD OPEN MEMBERSHIP POLICIES, FEW ELECTED THEIR REPRESENTATIVES

Perhaps the most surprising pattern in this table is that despite the regulations only five of the 16 sites (Compass, Lincoln, Serenity, Violet, and Westland) actually elected parent representatives to the PAC. Five sites (Circle City, Golden, Hooper, Mineburg, and Vale) had open PAC membership, that is, they considered all current Follow Through parents members and permitted any parent who attended a meeting to vote. PAC membership at the

remaining six sites was voluntary; membership did not come automatically to all parents, but only to those who expressed an interest. Besides conflicting with the membership requirements outlined in the regulations, open membership policies at sites were frequently at odds with their own PAC bylaws and, at some sites, even with the current year's grant application, where specific election procedures were generally outlined.

The evolution of PACs was outside the scope of this study, but there is evidence from a few of the sites with open or voluntary membership to suggest that most PACs once had elected representatives as the regulations and bylaws prescribe. As the novelty and excitement of a new project dwindled, however, it became more difficult to attract eligible parents who were interested in running for election to the PAC. Any parent willing to volunteer was thus automatically assured of election to the PAC. Soon project staff at these sites began to solicit volunteers directly for PAC membership, dispensing with the formality of an election. Eventually, as project staff and parents at some sites lost contact with the regulations and with their own bylaws (most parents interviewed--and many staff--had never read the Follow Through regulations or their own PAC's bylaws), they came to believe that all parents were in fact members of the PAC and needed only to attend a meeting to exercise those rights. Thus, there was in some cases an evolution from elected representation to voluntary representation and, in some cases, ultimately to open membership.

FEW PARENTS ATTENDED PAC MEETINGS

Although all PACs were said to have open meetings, and most actively encouraged parents to attend even if they were not members, attendance at PAC meetings tended to be rather low. Only three sites (Falling Waters, Johns County, and Silvertown) had more than 15 parents who were not paid employees at regular meetings. Most typically had from five to 15 parents in attendance.

Interestingly, sites with open or voluntary membership policies did not have higher attendance figures than those with specific elected representatives.

Three of the five sites with open membership policies (Circle City, Mineburg, and Vale Co.) had fewer than ten parents in regular attendance at meetings. However, there was a tendency for sites with voluntary membership to have more parents at regular meetings. Five of the six sites with voluntary representation had more than ten regular attendees.

Many reasons for parents' non-attendance at PAC meetings were offered by participants who were interviewed. Parents frequently mentioned inconvenient scheduling of meetings as a reason for not attending, but the data from these 16 sites do not suggest any optimal time for meetings. Higher attendance figures were possible regardless of when the meetings were scheduled (although the three sites with the highest attendance all had their meetings in the evening). Other reasons for low attendance included: parents who worked during the day could not or would not leave their children at night for PAC meetings; lack of transportation to and from meetings; inclement weather; discomfort in the school; and apathy. Whatever the reason, the attendance patterns at most sites remained consistently low. The business of the PAC was, in general, conducted by a small core group of active parents who came to every meeting.

FOLLOW THROUGH STAFF TENDED TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN SETTING AGENDAS AND RUNNING MEETINGS

Setting the agenda and conducting meetings are important because they bestow the power to control what issues are discussed and to shape the direction that discussions will take. Although the regulations stipulate the Follow Through project staff and district employees are to have only a non-voting advisory role on the PACs, the data suggest that staff*, particularly the Project Directors and Parent Coordinators, played an important and even dominant role in these areas of PAC operations.

*"Staff" here refers to paid Follow Through professionals. Several sites included paid parent paraprofessionals on their PACs. For this discussion they are considered parents.

The setting of agendas for meetings was done exclusively by staff at six sites. In Vale, for example, the PAC chairperson and the parent members were typically unaware of the agenda before the meeting. Agenda setting was done mutually by staff and parents at another six sites. Commonly, the procedure at these sites was for the chairperson to meet with the staff to receive suggestions for the agenda and to incorporate those suggestions with the others from parents to create a full agenda. Only at three sites (Compass, Violet, and Point) did parents alone create the agenda for PAC meetings. These agendas often reflected suggestions from staff, but parents alone had responsibility for deciding what would and what would not be discussed at meetings.

The dominance of staff is even more apparent when the identity of the person who actually conducted the PAC meetings is considered. The entries for this category on Table 5-1 reflect both who was nominally in charge of the meetings and the Field Researchers' considered judgments, based on numerous interviews and observations, of who really conducted the meetings. Following this criterion, a total of seven sites had meetings that were actually run by Follow Through staff. Another three sites had meetings conducted jointly by a project staff person and a parent, typically the chairperson. Only five sites (Compass, Hooper, Mineburg, Point, and Violet) had meetings that were actually run by parents. This pattern contrasts with the data from the Federal Programs Survey (FPS), where 85 percent of the districts reported that the chairperson chaired the PAC meeting. Only 1 percent said their meetings were chaired by staff. The discrepancy between the FPS and Site Study data is not surprising, though. Formally, the PAC chairperson usually was in charge of meetings at the Site Study sites. In fact, though, project staff even in those cases frequently dominated the proceedings.

OTHER FINDINGS

Findings in other areas of Table 5-1 support the conclusion that Follow Through PACs today are different in structure from what the regulations and their own bylaws describe. Most bylaws established a number of PAC subcommittees to deal with particular issues, but these also were seldom found in

practice. Only four sites included representatives from the community, despite the strong expectation in the regulations that the PAC would serve as a liaison with community agencies by including agency representatives among its voting members.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PAC MEMBERS

In the Site Study we were especially interested in the characteristics of those few parents and non-parents who did choose to participate on the PAC. The data from this inquiry are displayed in Table 5-2. Although the intention was to collect information on all parent members, this was not always possible. At sites where all parents were considered members data were only collected for officers or, in some cases, regular attendees. Also included on the table are summaries of PACs' recruitment and selection procedures for parents and non-parents.

We were especially interested in learning about the background and experience of parents who work on PACs to see if these parents were any different from other parents in the program. While it proved impossible to interview all parent members, these data were collected for key PAC officers and members and are summarized in the table.

Several patterns emerge from these data. These are discussed below.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF PACs FREQUENTLY DIFFERED FROM THAT OF THE PROJECTS

In at least six cases (Charles, Hooper, Mineburg, Vale, Lincoln, and Silvertown) the ethnic composition of the PAC was quite different from that of the program. Charles and Hooper, located in large northern cities, served major Hispanic populations, but most PAC members at both were Black. Silvertown and Vale were both in small southern schools that served both low-income Black and middle-class White children, but the middle-income Whites predominated on the PAC. The Lincoln County program served a predominately

Native American population, but half of its PAC members were White. Mineburg served low-income White and Black families, but only Whites were represented on the PAC.

How do PACs come to be ethnically non-representative? Five of the non-representative sites had open or voluntary selection of PAC members. Where this occurred, the data suggest that Follow Through staff and existing PAC members became the primary recruiters for new PAC members. These recruiters tended to attract their own friends, neighbors, or people with whom they felt comfortable. The Hooper and Charles Follow Through programs, for example, were located in schools administered by Blacks, with predominantly Black Follow Through staffs. The PAC officers in both programs were also Black. Therefore, recruitment of new members tended to center on the Black population, even though Blacks constituted a minority of the school population.

The situation in Silvertown and Vale was analogous to that in Hooper and Charles. Both of these sites were in small southern communities where Blacks had little role in the local power structure. The White middle-class parents tended to join and participate on the PAC because they were social acquaintances of the White Project Directors and principals and familiar with the schools. They were better educated than the Black parents, and more experienced in community and school participation. For these reasons, the White parents were more likely to join the PAC; and, once on the PAC, they tended to dominate its proceedings.

KEY PARENTS TENDED TO BE EXPERIENCED AND ACTIVE IN THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY.

Table 5-2 also contains information about the background and experiences of parents identified by the Field Researchers as influential on the PAC. These key parents were usually officers of the PAC; although, in some cases, were seasoned PAC members who had once served as officers but were now only members.

The data show that these key parents were generally quite experienced, both in the Follow Through program and in the community. Many of the key parents had been active on the Head Start Policy Council when their Follow Through children were in that program. Others were active in their churches. Still others were active in the PTA. Many had long association with the Follow Through project. In several cases we found parents who had been on the PAC since 1969; occasionally this long tenure reflected the fact that they had had several children in the program, but more often it was because they chose to continue working the PAC after their children had graduated from the program. The case of Violet is instructive: the key parent at this site was a woman who began working with the PAC in 1969 as a parent with little prior experience. She eventually became PAC chairperson and was later elected to the district board of education. At the time of the data collection she was with the PAC as an "advisor," counseling younger parents on how to participate effectively in the governance of the schools.

MOST PAC MEMBERS WERE WOMEN

Only five sites reported any fathers as members or regular attendees.

Interestingly, all of these sites except Hooper (where the only father, the chairperson, was retired) held some or all of their meetings in the evening, specifically to attract more fathers. Apparently, therefore, the time at which PAC meetings were held did make it easier for fathers to participate, even if it did little to affect the absolute number of attendees.

OTHER FINDINGS

Although four PACs (Circle City, Hooper, Lincoln, Mineburg) permitted paid paraprofessionals to serve as officers, most insisted that only parents not employed by Follow Through serve in these offices. In Circle City and Mineburg in fact, these parent paraprofessionals had essentially "taken over" the PAC, and very few other parents even attended meetings.

SUPPORT FEATURES

Table 5-3 summarizes the data collected from the 16 Follow Through sites on the support provided to their PACs. "Support Features" here refers to training, communication linkages, and other support services that enable the PAC to function on site. Two patterns emerge from this table and are discussed below.

PACS TENDED TO HAVE EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS WITH PARENTS, SCHOOLS, AND THE COMMUNITY

The regulations and most PACs' bylaws emphasize that PACs are to act as a liaison between parents and the schools. The data in Table 5-3 suggest that most PACs indeed created mechanisms for doing that. Five PACs reported having regular newsletters that were sent to all parents, staff, and in some cases to the community. Most sites made frequent use of memos and announcements sent to parents (either through the mail or with the children), to announce upcoming events or simply to urge attendance at PAC meetings. Some relied on the local print and television media to get their message across to parents. The Compass PAC even established a subcommittee charged with securing publicity for the Follow Through program through press or television coverage.

Aside from newsletters, announcements and media publicity, sites also used personal contacts to maintain communication among parents, schools, and the community. The communication occurred in several forms: (a) through home visits or telephone contacts; (b) through general parent meetings in which PAC issues were reported and discussed; (c) through regular meetings between the PAC and school or district officials; or (d) through representation of community groups on the PAC and PAC representation on district and community advisory groups.

The data then suggest that Follow Through PACs were not in most cases isolated bodies functioning apart from the schools and community. Instead, they appear

to have actively sought and maintained linkages between themselves and the wider community.

MOST FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAMS PROVIDED TRAINING FOR PAC MEMBERS

Only two of the 16 Follow Through sites (Lincoln and Vale) reported that no training had been provided for parent members to make them more effective on the PAC. Two others (Westland and Circle City) only provided training for the PAC chairpersons. All of the other Follow Through programs in the Site Study offered at least some training for the PACs.

Generally, this training occurred during PAC meetings at the beginning of the year and consisted of the Project Director or Parent Coordinator providing an overview of Follow Through, of the regulations concerning the PAC activities,* and of the PAC's role at that site. Only four sites (Golden, Compass, Mineburg and Point) reported having more than two training sessions for parents; at these sites training went beyond the above mentioned overviews and focused on specific subjects, such as how to set agendas, write bylaws, and run meetings. One site (Compass) had a "leadership training institute" for members, supplemented by informal training sessions for small groups in members' homes.

There were several sites at which the sponsor played a key role in training PAC members. Point, Westland, and Woodville all mentioned annual workshops conducted by the sponsor at the sponsor's home office. These workshops, attended by several PAC members from each of the sponsor's sites, were highly praised by PAC members, both because of the specific information communicated in the sessions and because they provided an opportunity for parents to share experiences with members of other PACs and to see how PACs in other cities participate in the operation of their Follow Through projects.

*It should be emphasized that, while there were frequent reports from sites of the regulations being addressed in training, very few parents interviewed had ever seen or read them. Instead, training in the regulations was generally confined to descriptions by staff of what the regulations contain.

OTHER FINDINGS

Most sites provided a variety of support services to their PACs aside from training. Most reported that regulations and other Follow Through documents were made available to PAC members, though few members had in fact read them. Most PACs used their small budgets (included in the basic Follow Through grant and supplemented in some cases by PAC fund-raising activities) to provide transportation to and from meetings, to provide or reimburse parents for child care, and in three cases (Silvertown, Johns and Hooper) to reimburse members for wages lost when attending meetings. Additionally, several sites provided office space for PAC chairmen who wished to work in the schools during the day.

FUNCTIONING OF POLICY ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Several aspects of PAC functioning were addressed in the Site Study. First, we wanted to obtain from interviews and from documents a picture of PAC's formal and perceived roles on site. Second, we wanted to trace the nature and extent of actual PAC involvement in project decision making. Third, we wanted to learn of PAC involvement in other non-decision making project activities. Finally, we wanted to learn something about the internal functioning of PACs: who has influence and how do those individuals wield their power.

For the present discussion, the involvement of PACs in project decision making is, of course, of central interest. Two aspects of this involvement were studied: PACs' involvement in project planning through proposal preparation and review, and PACs' involvement in decisions about the actual implementation of the project. Specifically, we studied PACs' involvement in five types of decisions: (1) decisions about classroom content or student services; (2) decisions about personnel, such as the hiring of professional and paraprofessional staff; (3) decisions about overall project expenditures; (4) decisions about special activities or events for children (such as class parties, cultural events, field trips or assemblies); and (5) decisions about activities or events for parents (such as workshops, guest speakers, field trips, career development classes, etc.).

The data from this investigation of PAC functioning are summarized in Table 5-4. Several strong patterns emerge from these data and are discussed below.

ALTHOUGH MOST PACS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY IN DECISIONS ABOUT PARENT INVOLVEMENT ACTIVITIES, THEIR OVERALL INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT GOVERNANCE WAS LOW AND DID NOT APPROACH THE LEVELS PRESCRIBED IN THE REGULATIONS

Follow Through PACs tended to be quite active in their projects. However, despite this activity and despite regulations stipulating a strong governance role for PACs, relatively few participated in project decisions other than those directly related to parent activities.

Table 5-4 summarizes the extent to which PACs were involved in each of the five decision areas mentioned above. The data from the sites suggest that it was possible to distinguish three levels of involvement in each decision area. These levels, defined in the accompanying figure, ranged from no involvement in decisions (where the PAC was not expected to have any input into a particular type of decision), through token involvement (where a PAC was asked to discuss decision issues but typically acted as a rubber stamp for staff), to a major advisory/decision-making role (where PACs actually made or affected decisions in a given area). Using this three-part distinction, patterns in each decision area are summarized below.

Proposal Preparation and Review

There was almost no involvement by PACs in decisions about the project proposals, other than a token advisory role. Many project proposals were essentially unchanged from year to year, meaning that no one, staff or parents, had much input. Only five sites (Compass, Mineburg, Point, Westland and Woodville) involved parents at all in the actual development of the project proposal, but these deliberations were said to be dominated by project staff. At most sites, the PAC was instead presented with the completed proposal and asked to give its pro forma endorsement. In several cases,

parents were not even given the opportunity to read the proposal before passing on it. At no site was there any mention of parents withholding their approval or of parents insisting on substantive changes in a proposal presented to them.

Decisions About Classroom Content/Student Service

There was again almost no PAC involvement in decisions about educational or health services delivered to children. Generally, decisions in these areas were thought to be outside the purview or competence of parents. The PACs were frequently kept informed by the sponsor and staff but were not asked to advise or approve decisions about instructional activities or approaches. Only three sites (Compass, Silvertown and Woodville) had PACs with more than token involvement in this area.* In Woodville, active lobbying by the PAC resulted in the introduction of more structure into the classroom. Silvertown's PAC did not directly influence decisions about classroom services, but did create several "Parent-Child Learning Centers" to which teachers could refer parents for materials to help their children with specific academic problems. Overall, however, PACs had less involvement in these types of decisions than in any other.

Personnel Decisions

This was a frequent avenue for PAC involvement in project decision making, with six sites involving their PACs in the screening and hiring of project paraprofessionals. Generally, the PACs acted as an advisory group to the principal or district office with ultimate responsibility for hiring aides. Although a few PACs were involved in hiring Parent Coordinators, they

*Although not a PAC activity, parent members of the Lincoln PAC participated in a parent-staff study group that ultimately recommended the termination of the Follow Through program at the site.

NO INVOLVEMENT	<p>The PAC played no role in project decisions. The PAC may have been informed about project activities but did not participate in decisions about those activities. This category includes sites where PAC meetings were devoted to reports from staff about the project and where there was no expectation that the project would change as a result of those reports. This category also includes sites where the PAC did not meet during the year.</p>
TOKEN INVOLVEMENT	<p>This category is characterized by the project staff's prominence in decision making. The PAC has limited opportunities for involvement and typically acts as a "rubber stamp." Within this category, there are two distinct variations: (1) PAC meetings provide a forum for presentation of project matters. However, the PAC neither questions nor contributes to project plans. (2) The PAC actively engages in discussions of project topics and questions staff plans during meetings, occasionally offering ideas of its own. Nonetheless, it is either persuaded by staff arguments or is unable to get its contributions incorporated into the project.</p>
MAJOR ADVISORY/ DECISION-MAKING ROLE	<p>The PAC gives advice that is regularly heeded by project staff, or actually makes decisions on its own in an area. Although sites frequently said that their PAC "reviewed and approved" decisions in an area, to have been placed in this category, there must have been evidence that this review actually resulted in changes. Also, there must have been evidence of a <u>pattern</u> of advice taken or decisions made; it was not sufficient for there to have been but one instance when a decision was actually influenced by the PAC.</p>

Figure 5-1. Levels of PAC Involvement in Governance

generally did not participate in personnel decisions about project professionals. The most extreme example of PAC participation in personnel decisions was found in Woodville where PAC parent representatives sat on a "hiring committee" with professional staff that interviewed and recommended candidates for all positions in the school, from paraprofessionals to principals.

Budget Decisions

According to respondents at most sites, the opportunities for PAC participation in project budgetary decisions have decreased considerably in recent years with the decline in Follow Through funds. Most of the Follow Through funds at the study sites were devoted to staff salaries, so there were few opportunities for PAC input. Nonetheless, five sites (Compass, Mineburg, Point, Silvertown and Westland) were said to have more than a token advisory role in determining the overall budget for their projects. For the most part, this role consisted of in-depth reviews of a budget proposal drafted by the Project Director, followed by suggestions for change based on these reviews. At Point, for example, the Project Director drafted a budget and then reviewed her proposals with the PAC chairperson. The chairperson recommended changes, and then the revised budget was taken to the full PAC for approval. The PAC itself rarely suggested changes in the budget after it had been approved by the chairperson.

Decisions about Special Student Activities

Although PACs typically were not involved in decisions about classroom content or student services, six PACs were active in planning special activities or events for students. Typically, these events were one-time activities organized around a theme, such as an ethnic holiday, a talent show, or a field trip. Where PACs participated in planning such activities, they generally had considerable authority to plan and implement, subject only to approval from the principal and Project Director.

Decisions about Parent Budget Activities

This was by far the most prevalent form of PAC involvement in decision making. Fifteen of the 16 Follow Through PACs studied had considerable autonomy in planning their own activities, in sponsoring social or educational events for the wider parent population, and in deciding how to spend the small budget allocated for PAC operations. Perhaps the two most common types of parent decisions engaged in by PACs were those about workshops to be offered parents and those about social events involving parents and occasionally staff (such as pot-luck dinners, "back-to-school nights," etc.). Every PAC except Vale and Charles engaged in decisions of these types. Further, several PACs also participated in planning lobbying efforts to secure continued Follow Through funding for their projects, or in monitoring the career development program for parent paraprofessionals.

This general pattern of low PAC involvement in decision areas, other than those related directly to parent activities, conflicts somewhat with the findings from the Federal Programs Survey. In that survey, the levels of PAC participation in decision making were reportedly much higher than suggested by these Site Study data. For example, in the FPS, all of the PACs were said to at least advise the LEA in developing the project application, and 78 percent reportedly had a share in making decisions. Further, 93 percent at least advised the LEA on the project budget. The Site Study PACs, in contrast, were relatively uninvolved in these two areas. However, the definitions used for "advising" in the Site Study were somewhat more stringent than those used in the Federal Programs Survey. It is likely that the FPS respondents described their PACs as advisory if they were asked to sign off on a proposal or budget, even if the PAC typically did so without questioning or suggesting changes. In the Site Study, involvement of this type would be considered "token," since there was no evidence of the PAC input resulting in changes in staff behavior.

THERE APPEAR TO BE FOUR BASIC PATTERNS OF PAC INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT DECISIONS

This finding emerges from the preceding discussion of PAC involvement in each separate decision area. As we said, with but one exception, all PACs were involved in decisions relating to parent activities (the final decision area on Table 5-4), but involvement in the other areas was more variable. The data suggest that there were four basic patterns of PAC involvement in these other decision areas. (For convenience, we will refer to decisions in the first five areas--proposals, student services, personnel, budget and special student activities--as "project decisions," and to decisions in the final area as "parent activity decisions.")

At the lowest level of involvement were those sites with PACs that played essentially no role in decisions other than to plan occasional parent activities and perhaps to exercise token approval of the project proposal. These PACs met irregularly and parents generally were unaware of their existence. Three sites fell into this category:

Charles
Hooper
Vale

Next are those sites with PACs that played a token role in project decisions. These PACs were often active in other ways, but not in project decision making. At most, they simply endorsed project decisions made by project staff and planned parent activities. Four sites were in this category:

Circle City
Johns
Falling Water
Lincoln

The third category includes PACs that did participate in project decisions along with parent activity decisions, but only in the area labelled "special student activities," on the table. These PACs planned student field trips,

assemblies, cultural celebrations, etc., but in other project decision areas simply endorsed prior staff decisions. Two sites were in this category:

Golden
Serenity

The final category includes seven sites where the PAC played a major role in decisions about the project proposal, about student services/classroom content, about project budget, or about personnel. Only one PAC (Woodville) participated in all of these decision areas, but each of the seven was involved in at least one. These PACs tended to be the most active in non-decision areas as well. The seven sites were:

Compass
Silvertown
Violet
Mineburg
Point
Westland
Woodville

As we shall see in a later section, sites within each category tended to share certain other features that help to account for differences in their involvement in governance.

FEW PACS SAW GOVERNANCE AS THEIR PRIMARY FUNCTION IN THE PROJECT; MOST BELIEVED THAT THEIR PROPER ROLE WAS TO SUPPORT THE PROJECT, TO SERVE AS A LIAISON WITH PARENTS, OR TO CONTRIBUTE TO PARENTAL EDUCATION

A third pattern to emerge from Table 5-4 is that, despite regulations and bylaws that emphasized the governance function, most parent members saw the PAC's central role as lying elsewhere. This fact becomes evident when entries in three rows on the table are examined: "Parent Perceptions of PAC Role"; "Actual PAC Role"; and "Non-Decision Activities." As these entries suggest, parents rarely saw participation in project decisions as a principal role for their PAC; when governance was mentioned at all, it was usually in the area of

The Point School Follow Through project is located in a single school in one of the nation's largest metropolitan areas. It serves an exclusive Black, low-income population drawn from a neighborhood that is extremely depressed and dotted with burned out buildings. The school itself may be forced to close soon because of declining enrollment caused by large-scale emigrations from the neighborhood.

The Point Follow Through PAC, however, is strong and vital. Like many other Follow Through PACs, Point no longer holds elections for members, relying instead on voluntary participation. At the time of the data collection there were 25 parent members, all of whom were women. The PAC met monthly in the project Parent Room; agendas were set and the meetings were conducted exclusively by the chairperson. Staff and paraprofessionals attended these meetings, along with a handful of the parent members.

The Point PAC was active in almost every phase of the program and managed to maintain an extremely high profile in the project. The PAC chairperson had a desk in the project office next to the director's and was in the school all day each day. She therefore was a regular participant in ongoing discussions among project staff, acting as the PAC's representative and occasionally noting issues that she wanted to bring to the PAC's attention. Beyond this ongoing involvement, the Point PAC also participated formally in various phases of project governance. It worked with the Project Director to formulate each year's proposal. Further, the PAC insisted on participating in any personnel decisions. The PAC also had sole responsibility for decisions about the parent program, including parent education activities, field trips, cultural events, etc.

Aside from its governance role, the Point PAC participated in a wide variety of activities in other areas. PAC members staffed the Parent Room, meeting and talking with parents who weren't involved in the project; the PAC Health and Nutrition Subcommittee worked with the school nurse to inform parents of health resources and services in the program and community. The Hostess Subcommittee greeted visitors to the school and organized entertainment activities for parents.

Training for the PAC members was extensive and included regular monthly training sessions put on by the staff, the sponsor, or community representatives on subjects ranging from the role of the PAC to parental rights. Additionally, some PAC members went each spring to the sponsor's home shop for an annual workshop with other PACs.

The PAC chairperson was by far the most influential member of the PAC. A PAC member for four years, she was a former Head Start Policy Council chairperson and was at the time of the study still quite active in her church. She was committed to parental participation in the governance of Follow Through and worked hard to ensure that involvement, despite varying degrees of resistance from the Project Director and building principal. She was also committed to participatory democracy and was careful to bring other parents into the decision-making process rather than making decisions on her own.

The chairperson was strongly supported in her role by the Parent Coordinator for the program. A member of the community, the Parent Coordinator functioned as a liaison between parents and the school and worked with the chairperson as an advocate for parents. Her actual role in the Follow Through project extended beyond that of Parent Coordinator. Because the Project Director was new to Follow Through and to the community and because the Parent Coordinator was known and trusted by staff and parents, she actually functioned as the de facto assistance director for the project.

To summarize, then, the Point PAC was able to play an active role in project decision making despite its setting in a depressed community and despite lukewarm support from administrators and staff. This role was made possible by a strong and knowledgeable PAC chairperson supported by an equally strong and influential Parent Coordinator. Together, these two were able to insist that parents had a place in Follow Through project governance.

Figure 5-2. Illustrative Case of Advise/Decide Involvement:
Point School

parent-activity decisions, and even then it was seen as secondary to other non-decision activities. These perceptions of parents were generally confirmed by Field Researchers in their judgments, based on extensive interview and observations, of the actual PAC role. Even at those sites with PACs that did participate in a range of project decisions, such as Mineburg, Westland or Woodville, this governance role was clearly secondary.

As we shall see more clearly in subsequent chapters of this volume, PACs were indeed active in these other areas. Considerable time and PAC energy was devoted to activities and events outside the domain of project governance. These other non-decision activities are summarized in Table 5-4. Since the focus for this discussion is governance, the reader is referred to the appropriate chapters in this report for a more complete description and analysis of these activities. Briefly, though, these activities were of five major types:

- School Support. The most common PAC activity, PAC contributions to school and project support, included: (1) conducting social events for parents and staff; (2) fund raising (bake sales, garage sales, etc.); (3) donating labor (painting murals, reupholstering furniture, making curtains for classrooms, etc.); (4) working for continued Follow Through funding; and (5) conducting special student activities (talent shows, Easter egg hunts, field trips, etc.).
- Parent Education. Several PACs devoted all or a portion of their meetings to speakers and workshops for parents on such topics as home crafts, cooking, parenting, community resources, etc.
- Communication/Liaison with Parents, Schools, and the Community. Several PACs published newsletters for parents. The Compass PAC had a publicity committee charged with publicizing Follow Through through the media and paid advertising. Several PACs sent representatives to city-wide and state PACs. Although few sites had functioning formal grievance procedures, many felt that the PAC provided a forum for

parents to air their concerns. Most sites maintained that PAC meetings were an important means for informing parents about the Follow Through program.

- Involving Parents as Teachers of Their Own Children. Several sites used PAC meetings to provide training to parents on how they could participate at home in their children's education. One site (Silvertown) used its own money to fund and operate parent-child learning centers where parents could check out materials for home use.
- Receiving Information. Most PACs received regular reports from sponsor and staff about events/problems in the project.

OTHER FINDINGS

The data in the table relating to the key individuals or groups on the PAC reinforce the earlier finding that Follow Through staff have considerable influence over PAC proceedings and deliberations. At four sites (Falling Waters, Johns, Serenity and Vale) the PAC was completely dominated by the Project Director or Parent Coordinator. At nine sites, the influence was shared between staff and parents. However, at two of those nine (Circle City and Mineburg), the influential parents were also paid paraprofessionals in the program, and, at two others (Silvertown and Westland), the influential parents were middle-income friends of the Project Director. Only at two sites (Hooper and Point) were parents alone listed as dominant. Overall, then, the data again suggest that the non-voting Follow Through staff advisors were extremely influential in shaping PAC behavior.

III. DISCUSSION: THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PAC INVOLVEMENT IN FOLLOW THROUGH GOVERNANCE

To summarize, there were two major conclusions from this examination of PAC involvement in Follow Through project governance. First, the overall levels of involvement were in general rather low, relative to the Follow Through regulations and PAC's own bylaws. Most PACs participated in decisions about parent activities/events, but their involvement in other decision areas was on the whole limited. Second, although the overall levels were low, it was possible to distinguish four basic patterns of involvement in decisions other than those having to do solely with parent activities. These types of involvement ranged from, at the one extreme, no involvement in decisions other than those having to do with parent activities to, at the other extreme, participation as advisors or decision makers in one or more types of project decisions. Underlying these two major findings was a third finding that PACs tended to see their primary role in areas other than governance--areas in which they were indeed active.

These findings are not inconsistent with, and do help illuminate, the findings from the Federal Programs Survey and from a recent reanalysis conducted by Haney and Pennington of the 1975 National Follow Through Evaluation Teacher and Parent Surveys.* Both of those studies found that PACs were widely implemented: 100 percent of the projects in the FPS survey and 94 percent of the teachers in the Follow Through Teacher Survey responded that their projects did in fact have PACs. Going beyond simple presence or absence of the PAC, Haney and Pennington found that 72 percent of the Follow Through parents surveyed had heard of their projects' PACs and 43 percent had gone to at least one PAC meeting. Further, Follow Through teachers, when asked about the activities of their PAC, tended to identify activities in the area of

*Haney, W., and Pennington, N. Reanalysis of Follow Through Parent and Teacher Data from Spring 1975. Cambridge, MA: Huron Institute, October 1978.

parental involvement and school support much more often than advisory or decision-making activities related to budget, curriculum or personnel.

These Site Study findings raise several questions that will be considered in this section. Why is it that PACs tended not to be active in governance when they were active in other areas? How did those PACs that were involved in governance differ from those that were less involved? Finally, what are some of the outcomes, both personal and institutional, that stem from parental participation on Policy Advisory Committees? These three questions are addressed in the sections that follow. Because the evolution of PACs was outside the scope of this study, much of the discussion that follows is necessarily speculative, based on insights gleaned from data on the various sites.

WHY WERE PACS NOT MORE INVOLVED IN GOVERNANCE?

There seem to be at least three elements in the answer to this question. First, because of the context in which they existed, there were limited opportunities for PACs to become involved in decisions. Second, parents themselves tended not to push for greater involvement in governance and were instead content to remain in a school support/liaison/educative role. Third, project and school staffs tended not to encourage PACs to participate more in governance, believing that project decisions are the proper domain for professionals. The data from the Site Study suggest that these three factors interacted to create generally low levels of parental involvement in governance, even when the PACs were highly involved in other areas.

LIMITED OPPORTUNITIES FOR DECISION MAKING

No Follow Through PAC, of course, exists in a vacuum. Each must operate within a context of district and school policies and procedures and, for some projects, within the framework of a sponsor's educational approach. These factors frequently limited opportunities for PAC involvement in project decisions. Another way to describe this situation is that there are relatively

few decision making "voids" in a school district that a PAC can readily fill. There are procedures, policies, and personnel already in place for making most decisions about curriculum, about finances and about the hiring and placement of personnel. Any increase in PAC involvement generally means displacing an existing decision mechanism--a task that, while possible, is not easy.

For example, many school districts are experiencing increased "professionalization" of paraprofessionals. Especially in larger school districts, these paraprofessionals tend today to be unionized, with their recruitment, selection, and evaluation managed by a district personnel office. Where this happens, it is naturally more difficult for PACs to become involved in the selection of aides. Similarly, decisions about curriculum and budgets are also frequently based in district offices, again making participation by PACs difficult.

While difficult, the data from the Site Study suggest that it was not impossible for PACs to reach an accommodation with district procedures. In Compass, for example, the Project Director persuaded the district personnel office to transfer responsibility for hiring Follow Through paraprofessionals to the PAC. This was done by creating a special job category for Follow Through classroom aides that was outside the existing district personnel classifications.

Given, then, that greater PAC participation in project decisions commonly required displacement of an existing procedure or a diminution of an official's prerogative, without agitation from parents or staff such involvement seems unlikely to occur. In contrast, there were large voids in domains such as school support and parent education, where schools and districts typically had few existing decision practices to be displaced. Few districts, for example, had existing parent education programs, so PACs could readily assume considerable responsibility without displacing other mechanisms. Similarly, as project resources were cut or threatened, the PAC was a natural group to step in and work for continued program support. The data suggest that this is

precisely what PACs did. Consequently, it is not surprising that at most sites, PACs were thought of primarily as a mechanism for school support, parent education and communication--not as governance councils.

Although the historical data from the Site Study sites are spotty, there is some evidence from sites at least to suggest that PACs may have been more involved in decision making in the beginning of the Follow Through program than they are now. A number of respondents at several sites said that, in the early days of the late sixties when projects were forming, there were many decisions to be made and little time in which to make them. Sponsors had to be selected, PACs formed, bylaws written, staff hired, and career development programs started. Policy Advisory Committees were actively involved in these deliberations.

Over time, however, there were fewer decisions to be made. As sponsors and professional staff became established, there was less to be decided about the educational approach for the program. As funding declined, there were fewer discretionary funds available: most of the budget was devoted to maintaining staff salaries. This left few opportunities for fiscal decision making. Declining funds also led to low turnover among staff and paraprofessionals, so there were fewer personnel decisions. (Many of the study sites had not had staff openings in years.)

Finally, because funding was essentially assured from year to year, less effort was put into the annual project proposal. At many sites, key sections of proposals were simply copied each year from the preceding year's proposal with only minor revisions, and proposals consequently became less relevant as guidelines for project activities. In sum, the data suggest that programs came more and more to operate from tradition and, as this happened, there was less for PACs to do except concentrate on school support activities and programs for parents.

PARENT ATTITUDES

A number of the Site Study Field Researchers commented that, not only were parent members not pushing for a greater role in governance, but they could not conceive that a greater role was even possible. Many of the projects studied were in school districts with essentially no history of parental involvement in decision making outside the board of education. In these situations the only role model for the PAC was the PTA, which classically functioned in a school support mode, rather than as a policy advisory group. Other advisory groups in the district tended to share the perspective of the Follow Through PAC and, therefore, simply reinforced the view that a more extensive governance role was not feasible. Further, many parent representatives on PACs did not see participation in project governance as an important role for their committee. Instead, they believed that the PAC should concentrate on activities for parents, such as workshops and social events.

Parents, then, tended not to press for a greater role in decision making because they could not conceive that a greater role was possible. This tendency was reinforced by the relative isolation of most Follow Through PACs from outside stimulation. Although several of the sponsors supported a role for parents in project decision making, few took an active interest in increasing PAC involvement in governance. Parental involvement was a concern to most sponsors, but this concern was typically limited to increasing parental participation in the educational process, not governance. Consequently, few sponsors pressed PACs to seek a greater role for themselves.

Another possible source of outside stimulation for PAC parents might have been the Follow Through regulations themselves. Those regulations, after all, spell out in some detail the ideal decision-making role for Follow Through PACs. However, we found almost no parents at any site who had even read the regulations; those who had tended to be more confused than enlightened by their dense language. The regulations were frequently invoked by parents and

staff to explain why certain actions could or could not be taken by PACs, but this awareness was generally based on word-of-mouth communications about the regulations and were frequently mistaken.

STAFF ATTITUDES

Staff attitudes tended to parallel those of parents. Staff, too, frequently could not imagine a greater role for the PAC in decision making. Perhaps the most common explanation offered by staff at Follow Through projects for why their PAC was not more involved in decision making was that parents were not competent to participate in the range of decisions outlined in the regulations. These decisions, they said, required extensive knowledge of the schools and curriculum--knowledge that most parents do not have. As one Parent Coordinator said, "How can you expect a parent to understand the project budget when she can't even cope with her monthly bank statement?"

Even more than parents, staff tended to recognize the administrative context within which the PAC must operate and the limitations that that context placed on any decision-making role. Given that there was little agitation from parents for change, staff tended not to push on their own for any increase in the PACs decision-making role and, instead, encouraged PAC activities in other areas.

HOW DO PACS THAT WERE INVOLVED IN GOVERNANCE DIFFER FROM THOSE THAT WERE NOT INVOLVED?

Despite the factors mitigating against PAC involvement in governance, there were, as we have seen, some that did play an active role in project decisions. Why were these sites able to achieve this involvement when others were not? While not conclusive, the data do suggest some answers to this question.

Table 5-5 depicts the 16 Site Study sites according to the four levels of involvement in project decisions discussed earlier. For each site on the table, various factors are displayed that seem to help differentiate between

the four categories. From this table it appears that PACs active in decision making were characterized by the presence of three key factors: one or more influential, experienced parents who pushed for PAC involvement in governance; at least one staff member who vigorously supported that push; and extensive training for PAC members on Follow Through and the PAC's role within it. These three factors are discussed more fully below.

PRESENCE OF KEY PARENTS

This factor seems especially critical. Each of the PACs in the two highest categories of involvement in governance was led by at least one influential parent who was knowledgeable about Follow Through and about the schools. In contrast, only one of the seven sites in the two lowest categories of involvement was characterized by the presence of such parents. Further, although PACs in the both of the higher categories were led by influential parents, the key parents at the seven most active sites were strong advocates of PAC involvement in governance; the leaders at the two less active sites tended not to press for such involvement.

As we have said, PACs do not function in a vacuum; mechanisms and procedures already exist in most projects and schools for making decisions. For PACs to assume a greater role in these decisions they must push for one. The data suggest that the initiative for this lobbying must come from parents. This does not mean, though, that there must be a number of parents pressing for greater involvement. On the contrary, the data suggest that frequently a single committed and effective parent was enough. None of the seven most active sites had particularly high parent attendance levels. Rather, they were characterized by a small core group of regular attendees who did most of the work under the leadership of one or two key parents.

Having recognized the importance of a few knowledgeable and influential parents, the next question is how PACs obtain such parents. While it is, of course, impossible to account fully for the emergence of dynamic leaders at

particular sites, the data do at least suggest some of the ways in which parents obtain the knowledge of and experience with the schools and the program that they need if they are to function on an equal footing with school and project staff:

- Through experience with the program. Violet, Point, and Compass each had parent PAC members who had been with the Follow Through program for many years--in some cases, since its inception. This experience was frequently not confined to PAC membership; some parents had served as classroom volunteers, lunchroom monitors, etc.
- Through close proximity to program staff. The PAC chairperson at Point was in the school all day every day. She even had a desk in the Follow Through office next to the Project Director, where she could hear and participate in day-to-day project decisions.
- Through employment as project paraprofessionals. The PACs at Mineburg, Circle City, and Compass were heavily populated by paid employees of the project. This daily participation in the project gave them a source of information that rivaled that of the Project Director.
- Through personal social contact with school and project administrators. Silvertown and Westland provide good examples of this phenomenon. In each of these cases, the key PAC parents were middle class and knew the principals or the Project Director socially. In each, this familiarity with administrators translated into a sharing of control between parents and project staff, with the key parents frequently serving as allies or surrogates for the staff.

The Compass site provides an instructive example of a PAC with selection procedures designed to maximize the knowledge and experience of parent representatives. At this site, each school had a steering committee to which any Follow Through parent could belong. Parents on this school PAC elected their own officers from among active parents in the school. The chairperson of each

school PAC, then, was automatically a member of the district PAC. This procedure, in effect, made the school PAC a training ground for project PAC members and ensured that the project PAC parent representatives would be able to exercise effective control over the functioning of their PAC.

The case of Violet illustrates another approach to this same problem. At that site, many of the representatives to the PAC were young and unfamiliar with Follow Through. However, by tradition, there were one or two "community representatives" on the PAC who were older former Follow Through parents with extensive experience in the program. These community representatives functioned as counselors and advisors to the younger members. Their importance to the PAC was illustrated during the data collection when the PAC chairperson, an experienced and influential parent, died and was replaced by a younger parent with little knowledge of the program. This new chairperson was subjected to pressures from staff and school administrators trying to shape PAC activities. One of the community representatives, though, worked closely with the new chairperson to resist these pressures and to provide her with the information that she needed to continue functioning.

PRESENCE OF SUPPORTING STAFF

The data also suggest that, for parents to be successful in their quest for greater involvement in governance, they needed the help of supportive project staff. The table shows, though, that, as was the case with influential parents, it was possible for a staff person to be strongly supportive of the PAC's role in the project without advocating an enhanced role in project decision making. Four of the seven sites most active in project governance were supported by a staff person, usually the Parent Coordinator, who believed that the PAC should play a larger role in governance. Frequently, such as in Woodville, Violet, and Point, the Parent Coordinator and key parent supported each other in opposition to the Project Director and building administrators, who typically had a more restricted view of the PAC's proper role.

Five of the six PACs in the middle two categories of governance on the table were also supported actively by a project staff member. However, none of these supportive staff was committed to a governance role for their PAC; instead, they used their energy and influence to foster PAC activities in other non-decision areas, such as school support, liaison, or parent education. None of the three sites in the lowest category had staff who actively supported the PACs.

IMPORTANCE OF PAC TRAINING

The nature and amount of training provided PAC members also differentiated the PACs active in governance from those less active. While most projects provided some training for PAC parents, this training tended to be limited at the less active sites to short overviews of Follow Through and of the PAC's role. Staff and senior parents at the more active sites tended to provide more detailed and ongoing training. For example, training at Compass included workshops in leadership skills, followed by small group discussions in parents' homes. Other sites in the more active group provided detailed training on concrete skills, such as setting agendas and running meetings.

At least three of the sponsors conducted periodic (usually annual) workshops for PAC members at the sponsor's home shop. Aside from providing parents with additional training, these sessions also enabled parents from different sites to meet and to "compare notes" regarding the role of their respective PACs. For two sites (Vale and Woodville), these sponsor workshops and cross-site sharing resulted in agitation from parents for an enhanced role for their PAC in project governance.

OTHER FACTORS

Table 5-5 also shows that the three sites with the least role in governance had PACs that were not ethnically representative of their programs. More significantly, each of these projects served ethnic groups that were in some conflict with each other. In each case, large segments of the served

population felt alienated from the Follow Through program in general and from the PAC in particular. Because of the tensions between groups, neither attended PAC meetings, and the PAC essentially withered as a functioning entity in the project. At Charles, the PAC stopped meeting altogether; PACs at Hooper and Vale continued to meet on occasion, but few parents, other than officers, attended these meetings, and little business was transacted.

Selection procedures for PAC members are also included on Table 5-5 because so few PACs were found to have the elected representation that the regulations required. There does not appear to be any clear relationship, however, between these procedures and the PAC's role in governance, although there was a slight tendency toward open membership among PACs with little involvement in project decision making. The data suggest, though, that this tendency may be a consequence rather than a cause of low involvement. Respondents frequently mentioned that there was something of a snowball effect among PACs. Parents were more willing to become members of active PACs and less interested in joining inactive ones. Because of this, sites with inactive PACs had more difficulty attracting parents to volunteer or run for election, so they tended to throw membership open to all parents in the hope of attracting at least some.

CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT ON PACS

Information was collected in the Site Study about two types of outcomes that could conceivably result from parental involvement on PACs: effects on parents as individuals and effects on the school or project as an institution.

For the most part, the personal and institutional outcomes reported by participants reflected the finding that PACs spent most of their time working in areas other than governance. Participants could point to benefits that PACs had bestowed on their projects, but most of these were in areas of school support, parent education, or community-school relations. For example, several respondents mentioned that PAC letter-writing campaigns to Congress had helped secure continued funding for the program. Others noted that PAC

fund raisers had helped replace resources lost through funding reductions. Many felt that the PAC played a critical liaison role between the school, the home, and the community, through its newsletters, memoranda, and guest speakers. There was wide agreement that, because of the new PAC, parents were better informed about the program and their place within it.

There was some anecdotal evidence of the effect of PACs on the educational institution through involvement in governance. Where PACs were involved in decisions about project content, budgets, or personnel, participants often noted that this involvement contributed greatly to the project. Several sites could point to specific outcomes of PAC involvement in project decision making. In Silvertown, for example, the PAC urged creation of Parent-Child Learning Centers after seeing similar centers in operation at another Follow Through site. Because of their initiative, the PAC allocated most of its budget to creating one such center. The response from teachers, parents, and staff to that center was so favorable that several centers in other schools were created. Similarly, participants in Woodville told of the PAC's objecting to the openness of the sponsor's approach and of these objections resulting in substantial changes in the classroom.

Personal outcomes mentioned by participants also reflected the role of PACs in other areas besides governance. Many parents mentioned that because of the PAC they had a better attitude toward the program and toward their children's school. Others noted that the PAC had, through its workshops, taught them skills, such as sewing, that they could use in the home. Some governance-related outcomes were mentioned, however. Respondents at a number of sites said that involvement on the PAC had "trained" parents in political and problem-solving skills. There were, in fact, a few cases of former PAC members going on to leadership positions in the district. At Violet, for example, a mother who started on the PAC in 1968 and eventually became chairperson went on to be elected to the district Board of Education and became a powerful voice in the community.

A few parents said that the management and problem-solving skills they learned on the PAC had proved useful in the home. For example, some said that they were better equipped to manage home finances as a result of the experience they had received as PAC officers. Others said that the basic skills at problem solving acquired through the PAC could be applied in the home and the community.

Although infrequent, there were reports of some problems that parental involvement in governance created. One commonly noted problem was simple inefficiency. Shared decisions tend to take longer to make than centralized decisions. Respondents at several sites, for example, noted that project schedules, on occasion, made PAC participation in decisions regarding the proposal at best inconvenient. Another problem commonly mentioned by staff, if not by parents, was confidentiality. PACs that did participate in budget and personnel decisions became privy to sensitive and confidential information about salaries, performance evaluations, etc. A number of project staff said that indiscretions by PAC members about these matters could cause grave difficulties for the project. However, we encountered no examples of this actually happening on site, only of fears expressed by staff.

Thus, although not overwhelming, there does seem to be some evidence that, when PACs became involved in governance, they did make a difference, both in the project and for the individual parents involved.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The ultimate purpose for the Site Study was to identify strategies and practices that might be emulated by others. While it is not the purpose of this volume to catalogue all of the strategies that appeared to "work" in the area of governance, this section will present some more general conclusions about developing greater levels of parental involvement in project decision making.

Any conclusions in this area, though, must be tempered by the observation that the opportunities for PAC participation in decisions about project issues, other than those tied specifically with parent activities, may be severely constrained by the administrative context within which a PAC must function. At many sites, the opportunities for PAC involvement in project governance may be considerably more limited than the regulations suggest. Accepting this caveat, however, the data do suggest some actions that may be taken by policy makers interested in maximizing parental involvement in project decision making.

A first conclusion is suggested by the dual finding reported earlier that PACs typically do not participate in governance, unless parents push for it, and that parents typically do not push for a governance role because they cannot conceive of any role greater than what they have already. The data from the sites in our sample contain several instances of parent PAC members pressing for a greater decision-making role after some outside stimulation demonstrated to them that such a role was possible. Typically, this stimulation came from one of three sources: visiting or learning about the activities and governance practices of PACs at other Follow Through sites; being urged by the sponsor to seek a greater governance role; or, becoming more familiar with the governance role outlined for PACs in the Follow Through regulations. One obvious conclusion then is that if one wants to increase PAC involvement in governance, strategies should be devised that cultivate these sources of

stimulation. Specifically, these strategies might include publicizing the regulations to local PACs through posters or brochures written in simple, easy to understand language; or means could be found to actively encourage visits and sharing among PACs at different sites. Several sponsors do this already through annual PAC workshops held at the sponsor's home shop or through site visits among sponsored sites. These sponsor practices could be encouraged or even expanded by the national Follow Through office.

Another promising approach to cross-fertilization among PACs might be national or state organizations of Follow Through PACs. Several states have such organizations already. These organizations facilitate communication and sharing among PACs, sometimes even encouraging the dissemination of parent involvement materials developed at successful sites.

A second set of conclusions is suggested by the finding that parental involvement in governance is dependent on the presence of one or more knowledgeable and influential parents pushing for a larger role in project governance. How can these parent advocates be "created" at sites that do not have them? The data suggest no easy answers to this question, but it is apparent that training is important--training that is detailed and ongoing. To be effective, this training must go beyond the simple overviews commonly found to include the concrete skills needed to participate effectively in project deliberations. These skills include knowledge of budgets and how to read them, understanding school and district decision-making practices, problem solving, parliamentary procedures, etc.

In addition to training, steps could be taken to cultivate the knowledge and experience that appear necessary for successful advocacy. Some strategies for accomplishing this have already been discussed. One, suggested by Compass, is to create school-level advisory committees as a "training program" for parents new to Follow Through; another might be to create formal PAC positions for experienced PAC "alumni," as Violet did. Still another strategy might be to

provide office space for PAC chairpersons in the Follow Through office, as Point did. The data suggest that this provision of office space can ensure that PAC officers are kept informed about the day-to-day issues and decisions in the project.

It must be remembered, though, that knowledgeable parents alone were not enough. They had to be supported in their efforts by equally committed project staff. At the most active governance sites the Parent Coordinator acted as an advocate for the PAC, defending the interests of parents and articulating their concerns. No obvious strategies exist for creating staff with attitudes favorable to governance, but the data do suggest that that support is invaluable.

			CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HODDER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
YEARS IN EXISTENCE			10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+
PAC SIZE/ HOW SELECTED			7 Volunteers	All/Open	12 Elected	20 Volunteers	All/Open	All/Open	25 Volunteers	10 Elected
MEETING FREQUENCY			1/yr	Monthly	Monthly	8/yr.	Monthly	1-3/yr.	Monthly	4/yr.
PARENT MEMBER ATTENDANCE			7	2-3	4-5	15-20	10	10-15	10-25	5-6
OTHERS ATTENDANCE			0-2	10-15	9-16	6	3-5	No Data	No Data	3-4
COMPOSITION	PARENTS	FT ELIG.	7	All	5	13	(All)	All	25	5
		NON- ELIG.	0	No Data	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PARAPROFESSIONALS		(Parent Trainees)	7 (Voting)	0	0	0	0	0	0
	COMMUNITY		0	0	0	7 (Non-Voting)	2 (Non-Voting)	1 (Non-Voting)	0	3 (Voting)
	STAFF ADVISORS (NON-VOTING)		PD, PC	PD	PC, 2 MT	PD, PC	PD, PC, ST	No Data	No Data	PD, PC, 2 PRs
	ROLE OF SUBCOMMITTEES AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE			Do Not Meet	Minor Role	Major Role	Ex-Com: No Data Subcom: Minor Role	No Ex Com. Subcom: Major Role	Ex Com: Major Role No Subcom	No Ex Com: Subcom Major Role
MEETING TIME			Morning	Morning, Afternoon, Night	Afternoon	Night	Morning	Morning	Night	Night
MEETING LOCATION			School Parent Room	Rotates among FT Schools	Rotates among FT Schools	District Parent Center	No Data	School Parent Room	School or District Parent Office	Howling Alley
MEETING DURATION			2 hrs.	No Data	2-3 hrs	2 hrs.	1-1.5 hrs.	0.5-2 hrs.	No Data	No Data
AGENDA SETTING			PD + PC	PD	Chair + PD	PD	Chair + PC	Ex Com	PC	No Data
MEETING LEADERSHIP NORMAL/ACTUAL			PD/PD	PD/PD	Chair/Chair	Chair/PD	Chair + PC/ Chair + PC	Chair/Chair	PC/PC	No Data
MINUTES. RECORDER/DISTRIBUTION			None	Parent/Files	Staff/Files	Parent/Files	PC/Files	Parent/Files	No Data	Parent/ All Parents

LEGEND:

PERSONS INVOLVED

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
T = Teacher
SW = Social Worker
PR = Principal

Chair = PAC Chairperson
MT = Master Teacher
ST = Staff Trainer
ExCom = PAC Executive Committee

Table 5-1. PAC Structure and Organization

			MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
YEARS IN EXISTENCE			10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+	10+
SIZE/HOW SELECTED			All/Open	25 Volunteers	10/Elected	47 Volunteers	All/Open	11/Elected	10/Elected	30/Elected
MEETING FREQUENCY			Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	6/yr	2-3/yr.	Monthly	Monthly	7/yr.
PARENT MEMBER ATTENDANCE			2-3	10-15	8	25	5-7	10-11	7-10	10-12
OTHERS ATTENDANCE			8-9	No Data	4	2-3	2-3	4-5	5-7	3-4
COMPOSITION	PARENTS	FT. ELIG.	All	25	10	25	All	9	8	30
		NON-ELIG.	0	0	0	14	0	0	2	1
	PARAPROFESSIONALS		7	8 (Non-Voting)	0	0	0	0	0	0
	COMMUNITY		3	5 (Non-Voting)	0	8 (Non-Voting)	0	2	0	0
	STAFF ADVISORS (NON-VOTING)		PD, ST	PD, PC	PC	PD, PC	PC	PC	PD, PC, T	PD, PC, SW
ROLE OF SUBCOMMITTEES AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE			Major Roles	Major Roles	No Excom or Subcom	Major Roles	Excom: Major Role No Subcom	No Excom. Subcom Major Role	Major Roles	Major Roles
MEETING TIME			Night	Morning	Morning	Night	Morning Afternoon	Morning, Afternoon	Night	Afternoon Night
MEETING LOCATION			Rotates Among Schools	School Parent Room	No Data	District Adm. Bldg.	Parent House	School	District	School Parent Room
MEETING DURATION			No Data	2 hrs.	45 min.	1.5 hrs.	No Data	No Data	1.5 hrs.	.5 hr.
AGENDA SETTING			Excom	Chair	PC	PC, PD	PD	Chair	Excom	Staff + Chair
MEETING LEADERSHIP: NOMINAL/ACTUAL			Chair/Chair	Chair/Chair	Chair/PC	Chair/PD + PC	Chair/PC	Chair/Chair	Chair/ Chair + PD	Chair/PD
MINUTES: RECORDER/DISTRIBUTION			PPP/ All Parents	Parent + PC/ Attendees	Parent/ PC + Chair	PC/ All Members	PC/Excom	Parent/ All Members	Parent/File	Parent/ All Members

LEGEND:

PERSONS INVOLVED

PD	= Project Director	Chair	= PAC Chairperson
PC	= Parent Coordinator	MT	= Master Teacher
T	= Teacher	ST	= Staff Trainer
SW	= Social Worker	Excom	= PAC Executive Committee
PR	= Principal		

Table 5 -1. PAC Structure and Organization (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN (ATTENDEES)	HOOPER (ATTENDEES)	JOHNS (ATTENDEES)	LINCOLN
PARENT MEMBERS	AGE: 20-30 30-40 41+	No Data	50% 50% 0	10% 80% 10%	40% 50% 10%	No Data	No Data	0 100% 0	50% 50% 0
	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	80%	100%	75%	100%	95%	75%	75%
	ETHNICITY	B 80% * H: 20%	B: 100%	B: 100%	W: 50% NA: 40% B: 5% H: 5%	B: 100%	B: 80% * H: 20%	B: 87% H: 10% A: 3%	W: 50% * NA: 50%
	EDUCATION	No Data	HS 80% C 20%	No Data	<HS: 25% HS: 75%	No Data	No Data	<HS: 10% HS: 85% C: 5%	HS: 90% C: 10%
	RECRUITMENT	No Data	Notes sent home PPP contacts	None	Letter to some some (PD) Word of Mouth (Staff)	Telephone Home visits Notices sent home	Notices in Parent Room	Word of mouth (PC) Newsletter Home visits (Staff)	None
	SELECTION PROCESS	PPPs: Automatic Others: Volunteers	Automatic all parents and PPPs members	Automatic Chairs of school PACs, school PCs	Volunteer	Automatic all FT parents are members	Automatic all FT parents are members	Volunteer attend one meeting to be considered member	Elected by school PACs
	BACKGROUND OF KEY PARENTS	Chair PTA President Girl Scout leader	Chair, Church leader PTA leader	Chair State PAC rep. Community leader Church leader On PAC 10 years	No Data	Officers: Former Head Start volunteers Title I PAC members	Chair Male, Black Board Member of Community Action Agency	Chair: PTA Community groups Church leader	Officers: Several PPPs, 2 spouses of district employees
	OFFICERS. RELATION TO DISTRICT	No Data	Chair is parent Others are PPPs	None	None	None	Several present or former PPPs	None	See above
SCHOOL COMMUNITY GROUPS	GROUPS REPRESENTED	None	None	None	Community Action Service PTA Head Start	Church Service	Head Start Community Action	None	Administrators
	SELECTION PROCESS	-	-	-	No Data	Invited by individual PAC members	No Data	No Data	No Data

LEGEND

ETHNICITY

* = PAC ethnicity different from programs
A = Asian
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
W = White

EDUCATION

<HS = Less Than High School
HS = High School Graduate
C = Some College

STAFF

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
PPP = Paid Parent Paraprofessional

GROUPS

Community Action=NAACP, La Raza, etc.
Service=League of Women Voters, Red Cross, etc.

Table 5-2. PAC Membership and Selection

		MINEBURG (OFFICERS)	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
PARENT MEMBERS	AGE: 20-30 31-40 41+	80% 20% 0	0 90% 10%	30% 70% 0	0 100% 0	20% 60% 20%	50% 40% 10%	40% 50% 10%	90% 10% 0
	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	ETHNICITY	W. 100% *	B: 100%	B: 50% W: 50%	W: 60% * B: 40%	W: 60% * B: 40%	B: 100%	W: 90% NA: 10%	W: 100%
	EDUCATION	<HS: 10% HS: 90%	<HS: 60% HS: 40%	<HS: 20% HS: 80%	<HS: 10% HS: 75% C 15%	<HS: 80% HS: 20%	<HS: 10% HS: 90%	<HS: 10% HS: 80%	<HS: 20% HS: 80%
	RECRUITMENT	Word of mouth (Parents +PC)	Word of mouth (Chair) Memos Announcements	Word of mouth (PC)	Memos Newsletters Word of mouth (PRs + Staff)	Word of mouth (PC)	Memos Home visits (PC)	Newsletter Word of mouth	Notes home Telephone (Parents)
	SELECTION	Automatic all parents and PPPs members	Volunteer	Elected by those at parent meeting	Volunteer	Automatic all parents are members	Elected one rep + one alternate from each class	Elected by those at fall parent meeting	Automatic
	BACKGROUND OF KEY PARENTS	Officers: 4 are PPPs	Chair: Former Head Start PAC chair Church leader 4 years on FT PAC	No Data	Vice Chair: White middle class parent Former district PC, PTA vice president, Community leader	Chair: Head Start PAC chair Church leader	Senior Parent: Former FT parent BOE member	Chair: FT rep. on district PAC PTA leader President, Community Group	Co-Chairs: a. Former Head Start parent Pres. of comm. group b. Former tutor for district
	OFFICERS: RELATION TO DISTRICT	See above	None	None	Vice Chair: Former district PC	None	None	None	None
SCHOOL-COMMUNITY GROUPS	GROUPS REPRESENTED	Community Action Teacher	Community Action PAC Alumni	None	Head Start Service Pediatrician Community Action	None	Community Rep. Head Start	Teacher	None
	SELECTION PROCEDURES	Invited by PAC	Invited by PAC	-	Appointed by Group	-	No Data	Volunteer	-

LEGEND:

ETHNICITY

* = PAC ethnicity
different from programs

A = Asian
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
W = White

EDUCATION

<HS = Less Than High School
HS = High School Graduate
C = Some College

STAFF

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
PPP = Paid Parent Paraprofessional

GROUPS

Community Action=NAACP, La Raza, etc.
Service=League of Women Voters, Red Cross, etc.

Table 5-2. PAC Membership and Selection (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLOEN	HOOVER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
INTRA-PAC COMMUNICATIONS		Only at Meetings	(All FT parents are members)	Minutes Subcom. Reports Teas in members homes Extensive informal	Meetings Informal only	(All FT parents are members)	(All FT parents are members)	(All FT parents are members)	Informal only
COMMUNICATION WITH PARENTS, SCHOOLS, DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY		Occasional Newsletter	Notices sent home with children FT Calendar prepared annually by PAC	Memos from staff to PAC Ads in media PC is liaison with district office	Newsletters	Memos Joint meetings with Title I PAC	Notices in Parents' Room Memos	Memos Notices Informal joint FT, Title I, PTA meeting	None Reported
TRAINING FOR PAC MEMBERS	NO. SESSIONS	1	5	9	2	3	1	2	None
	NO. PARENTS	No Data	Chair Only	10-15	20	10	5	5-10	No Data
	WHO CONDUCTED	No Data	Sponsor	PC	PO	PO	State FT staff in state capital	No Data	No Data
	TOPICS	FT Overview PAC Role FT Budget	No Data	Leadership training	PAC Role	How to run meeting, set agendas, write bylaws FT Overview	PAC Role	FT Overview	No Data
OTHER PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT		Regulations PAC Budget	Transportation Evaluation reports	Regulations Other Documents Child Care Clerical services Supplies	Regulations Other Documents Child Care Travel	Regulations Other Documents Clerical services Child Care Travel Supplies	Wage reimbursement Clerical services Supplies Other Documents	Wage reimbursement Regulations Other Documents Transportation Clerical services Supplies	Mileage Dinner Child Care

LEGEND:

STAFF

PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 Chair = PAC Chairperson
 BOE = Board of Education; School Board

Table 5-3. Programmatic Support for the PAC

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
INTRA-PAC COMMUNICATIONS		(All FT parents are members)	Memos Extensive informal Minutes	Telephone from chair to members	Notices Minutes	(All FT parents are members)	Memos Minutes Extensive informal	Informal meetings	Minutes Notices
PAC COMMUNICATION WITH PARENTS, SCHOOLS, DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY		Rep on district PAC Community reps. on PAC Extensive informal-Home visits (PC) Media	Ongoing communication between chair + school staff PTA president on FT PAC	Newsletter Announcements Notes home	Local media reports on PAC activities	None	Announcements PTA pres. on PAC Community reps. on PAC Regular meeting with district officials BOE meet with commun. groups	Newsletter Parent meetings	Newsletter Meeting notices Telephone contacts Notices in Parent Room
TRAINING FOR PAC MEMBERS	NO. SESSIONS	7	Monthly	1	2	None	Ongoing	No Data	Several Days
	NO. PARENTS	4	10	6	10	-	All members	Chair	15
	WHO CONDUCTED	FT Staff	Staff + Sponsor	PC	No Data	-	Former Parent	Sponsor	Sponsor
	TOPICS	How to set agendas, run meeting Regulations	Political development Parent rights Sponsor workshop	Duties of PAC PAC Function	Overview Purpose of PA Officers' duties	-	Role of PAC Working of schools	No Data	PAC duties Leadership
PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT FOR PAC		Regulations Other documents Supplies Clerical services	Regulations Other documents Office space for chair in FT office Supplies Clerical services	Regulations Travel reimbursement Supplies Clerical services Transportation	Regulations Other documents Child Care Travel reimbursement Wage reimbursement Supplies Clerical Services	Supplies Travel reimbursement	Regulations Other documents	Review documents Child Care Transportation Supplies Clerical services	Regulations Child Care Transportation Clerical services

LEGEND:**STAFF**

- PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 BOE = Board of Education; School Board
 Chair = PAC Chairperson

Table 5 -3. Programmatic Support for the PAC (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HUOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
GOVERNANCE ROLE	ROLE IN PROPOSAL PREPARATION/REVIEW	Token	Token	Advise/Decide	Token	Token	None	Token	Token
	CLASSROOM CONTENT STUDENT SERVICES	None	Token	Advise/Decide	Token	Token	None	Token	Token
	PERSONNEL	None	Token	Advise/Decide	Token	Token	None	Token	Token
	BUDGET	None	Token	Advise/Decide	None	Token	None	Token	Token
	SPECIAL STUDENT ACTIVITIES	None	Token	None	No Data	Advise/Decide	None	None	Token
	PARENT BUDGET/ ACTIVITIES	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide
FORMALIZED PAC ROLE/SOURCE		Same as regs/ Bylaws	No Data	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	School support Communication /By laws
POWERFUL PERSONS/ GROUP		No Data	PD, PPP	Chair, PPPs, PC	PD	Chair PC, PD	Chair makes most PAC decisions alone	PD, PC	PD, White Parents
PARENT PERCEPTIONS OF PAC ROLE		School support	Communication School support	School support Communication Parent education Advise/Decide	School support	Communication School support Monitor project	Advise/Decide School support Parent education Communication	Communication "Rubberstamp"	School support
NON-DECISION ACTIVITIES		Some school support (fundraising, field trips, etc.)	School support (social events, work parties, etc.) Parent education Home school liaison Receive information	School support (social events, lobbying) Parent education Home-school liaison Receive information	School support (fundraising, social events, loan funds, etc.) Receive information	School support (fundraisers, lobbying, social events) Parent education Home-school liaison Receive information	School support Parent education (Career development workshop)	Parent education Home-school liaison School support Receive information	School support (Christmas programs, etc.) Parent education Receive information
ACTUAL PAC ROLE		Little role in project	Active school support, but very few parents involved	Influential in all phases of project	School support	School support Communications	Little role in project	School support Communication Parent education	School support (little role now that project is leaving)

LEGEND.

POWERFUL PERSONS

- PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 PPP = Paid Parent Paraprofessional
 Chair = PAC Chairperson

Table 5-4. PAC Functioning

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIDLET	WEWSLAND	WOODVILLE
GOVERNANCE ROLE	ROLE IN PROPOSAL PREPARATION	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Token	Token	Advise/Decide	No Data	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide
	CLASSROOM CONTENT STUDENT SERVICES	Token	None	Token	Advise/Decide	None	Token	None	Advise/Decide
	PERSONNEL	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Token	None	None	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide
	BUDGET	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Token	Token	None	Token	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide
	SPECIAL STUDENT ACTIVITIES (FIELD TRIP ASSEMBLIES)	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	None	No Data	None	Advise/Decide
	PARENT BUDGET/ ACTIVITIES (WORKSHOPS, SOCIALS)	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Token	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide	Advise/Decide
FORMALIZED PAC ROLE/SOURCE		Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	School Support, Liaison/Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws	Education Liaison/Bylaws	Same as regs/ Bylaws
POWERFUL PERSONS/ GROUPS		PD, PC, PPPs	Chair	PD, PC	PD, V. Chair (a middle-income white parent)	PC	Chair, PC and Former FT Parent	PD, Middle Income Parent	PD, Co-Chair PC, Sponsor
PARENT PERCEPTIONS OF PAC ROLE		Advise/decide School support Communication	Primary: school support, communication, Secondary: advise/decide	School support Communication	School support Parent education Communication Governance (some)	Receive information from staff	School support primarily	Primarily school support and communication Governance (some)	Mixed: some see governance as key; others see school support
NON-DECISION ACTIVITIES		School support (social events, non-classroom volunteers, etc.) Parent education Home-school liaison Receive information	School support (fundraising, social events, lobbying, etc.) Parent education Home-school liaison Receive information	School support (lobbying, field trips, etc.) Home-school liaison Parent education Receive information	School support (social events, lobbying, etc.) Parent education Career development Home-school liaison Receive information	Receive information	School support (school volunteers, school services) Receive information	School support (social events, babysitter service, etc.) Home-school liaison Parent education Receive information	School support (special events, charity, social activities, etc.) Home-school liaison Parent education Receive information
ACTUAL PAC ROLE		Major influence on PD. Especially as liaison between school and community.	Primary advocate for program. Mainly school support and communication.	Primarily school support and communication. Little involvement in governance.	Little direct influence on project decisions. Primarily school support and parent education	Little role in Project	Active in school support and governance.	Primarily school support and parent education Communication	Primarily school support with some governance

LEGEND:

POWERFUL PERSONS

- PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 PPP = Paid Parent Paraprofessional
 Chair = PAC Chairperson

Table 5-4. PAC Functioning (Continued)

	NO INVOLVEMENT			TOKEN INVOLVEMENT				ADVISE/DECIDE: SPECIAL ACTIVITIES		ADVISE/DECIDE: PROJECT DECISIONS						
	CHARLES	HOOPER	VALE	CIRCLE CITY	JOHNS	FALLING WATER	LINCOLN	SERENITY	GOLDEN	COMPASS	SILVER-TOWN	VIO ET	MINE-BURG	POINT	WEST-LAND	WOOD-VILLE
MEMBERSHIP POLICIES	○	○	○	○	○	○	●	●	○	●	○	●	○	○	●	○
PARENT ATTENDANCE LEVELS	□	■	▣	□	■	■	▣	▣	■	■	■	■	▣	■	▣	■
ETHNIC COMPOSITION DIFFERENT FROM PROJECT	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes				Yes					
MEETING LEADERSHIP (ACTUAL)	△	▲	△	△	△	△		△	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	△
INFLUENTIAL PARENTS	◇	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
SUPPORTIVE STAFF	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
PAC TRAINING	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽

LEGEND:

MEMBERSHIP POLICIES

- = Open
- ◐ = Voluntary
- = Elected

PARENT ATTENDANCE LEVELS

- = 0-5
- ▣ = 6-10
- = 10+

MEETING LEADERSHIP

- △ = Staff
- ▲ = Staff and Parents
- ▲ = Parents

INFLUENTIAL PARENTS

- ◇ = None
- ◆ = Present, but not pressing for PAC governance role
- ◆ = Present, and pushing for governance

SUPPORTIVE STAFF

- ◇ = None
- ◆ = Staff actively support PAC, but not a role in project decisions
- ◆ = Staff supportive of PAC governance role

PAC TRAINING

- ▽ = None
- ▽ = One or two sessions, consisting mainly of project bylaw overviews
- ▽ = Several sessions, including group process of decision making training

Table 5-5. Contributory Factors

CHAPTER 6

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE FOLLOW THROUGH INSTRUCTIONAL PROCESS

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes the extent to which parents were involved with the instructional process of Follow Through programs in the Site Study. For purposes of this study, three aspects of that involvement were studied: (1) parents working as paid paraprofessionals in the project; (2) parents working as classroom volunteers; or (3) parents participating as teachers of their own children at home (more conveniently known as "home teaching"). More specifically, we looked for instances where parents either helped individual students or groups of students to master academic skills or where parents prepared instructional materials. We also looked at the extent to which parent paraprofessionals and classroom volunteers participated in instructional decision making at the classroom, program, and school levels.

This chapter consists of five sections. The remainder of this first section contains an introduction to parental participation in the instructional process of Follow Through projects and a summary of the Site Study's major findings in this area. Parts II-IV present the detailed findings and analysis of contributory factors in each of the three areas: (a) parent involvement as classroom aides; (b) parent involvement as classroom volunteers; and (c) parent involvement as teachers of their own children at home. Part V will derive some conclusions from the findings for those interested in increasing parental involvement in the instructional process.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN INSTRUCTION: THE FOLLOW THROUGH REGULATIONS

Within the context of compensatory programs like Follow Through, the impetus for using parents in the classroom as paid aides and volunteers appears to have come from three basic beliefs. One is that middle-class school professionals have been unable to conduct effective instruction for children from culturally different backgrounds; parents, according to this view, can bridge this gap between school personnel and students. The second underlying belief seems to be that students in need of compensatory education require more individualized instruction, thus necessitating more adults in the classroom. Finally, the third belief underlying the emphasis on parental involvement in the classroom seems to be that parents in classroom roles can perform a useful monitoring function, ensuring that instructional goals of the Follow Through program are continually being pursued.

Impetus for the third aspect of parental involvement discussed in this chapter--encouraging parents to participate as teachers of their own children at home--has come from research findings that home factors are important determinants of student academic growth; parents, it is felt, can serve as important partners in education by reinforcing school experiences in the home.

Examination of the Follow Through regulations shows that they are silent about involving parents as teachers of their own children at home. They are clear,

though, in their insistence that parents be involved in the classroom as aides or volunteers:

Each Follow Through project shall include ... a parent and community involvement component which actively involves parents and other interested persons in the community through such activities as... participation in the classroom as observers or volunteers, or as paid employees...

The regulations go on to require that low-income Follow Through parents be given highest priority in the hiring of classroom aides..

Finally, the regulations require that each site establish a career development component for its paraprofessionals that includes: (1) increases in salary and job responsibility on the basis of job experience, academic background, etc.; (2) provision of guidance and counseling in career development; (3) supplementary training; and (4) provision of other educational opportunities, such as high school equivalency (GED), vocational training, etc.

Thus, although all three aspects of parental participation in instruction will be examined in this chapter, it should be remembered that only two of these aspects (parental involvement as classroom aides and volunteers) are mandated by the program regulations. There is no basis in the regulations for expecting to find substantial parental participation as teachers of their own children in the home.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

The central question for this chapter is: To what extent do parents participate in the instructional process as classroom aides, as volunteers, or as teachers of their own children at home? Several major findings relating to this question emerged from the data:

Parental Involvement: Classroom Aides

- Parents were widely used as classroom aides. All sites had parents in aide positions and nearly 75 percent of all classroom aides were parents of current or former Follow Through children. Most sites either now have or once had a policy of actively recruiting parents to fill aide positions.
- Although most aide positions were filled by Follow Through parents, the actual number of current parents employed was rather small. Once hired, parents tended to stay in these positions when their children graduated from Follow Through, so many of the parents found in aide positions were actually parents of former Follow Through children. Some sites did hire current parents in part-time temporary positions known as "parent trainees," "rotating aides," or "8-week aides."
- Parent classroom aides played a major instructional role in the classroom, frequently functioning more as co-teachers than as assistants. Although active in classroom decisions, aides typically did not participate in school- or program-level decisions.

Parental Involvement: Classroom Volunteers

- Relatively few sites had active programs to recruit parent classroom volunteers.
- Sites that did have classroom volunteer programs tended to provide a substantial classroom instructional role for those volunteers.

Parental Involvement: Teachers of Their Own Children at Home

- Most sites provided some activities to involve parents in teaching their children at home.

- There were two basic approaches to providing these home teaching activities. Five sites had more formal organized programs with central coordination, individualized training for parents, development of defined programs for individual children, and provisions for monitoring student and/or parent progress. Five other sites had less formal programs, consisting primarily of workshops and/or distribution of handbooks or materials.

These major findings along with several secondary findings will be elaborated in the sections that follow.

II. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: CLASSROOM AIDES

Five aspects of parental involvement as classroom aides* were examined in the Site Study: (1) opportunities for parents to become aides; (2) characteristics of aides; (3) the structure and organization of the aide component at each site; and (5) programmatic support for the aide component. These five aspects are discussed in turn below, followed by a general discussion of the causes and consequences of parental involvement as classroom aides.

FINDINGS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARENTS TO BECOME AIDES

Given the regulatory insistence that parents be given priority in filling aide positions, a critical first question about site aide components was whether or not parents were given the opportunity to become aides and how many parents availed themselves of that opportunity. Consequently, Table 6-1 summarizes the data from the 16 Follow Through sites on the procedures used to select aides and on the policies of sites regarding the recruitment of parents for those positions. The table also shows the results of those effects in the relative numbers of current and former Follow Through parents in aide positions. Several patterns can be seen in these data and are discussed below:

MOST SITES GAVE FOLLOW THROUGH PARENTS PRIORITY WHEN HIRING CLASSROOM AIDES

Consistent with the findings from the Federal Programs survey, most sites gave Follow Through parents priority when hiring aides. Eight of the 16 Site Study sites had policies in force during data collection that gave parents priority in the hiring of aides. Three additional sites (Golden, Vale, and Westland)

*For purposes of this study "aides" are defined as paraprofessionals who directly assist classroom teachers in the performance of educational or other professional duties in the Follow Through project. Depending upon the site, they may be called parent aides, teaching assistants, or classroom aides. For convenience, this latter term will be used in this chapter.

once gave parents priority, but no longer did so because of union regulations, changes in selection criteria, or because authority for hiring aides was transferred from the project to the district personnel office.

Five sites did not have a policy of giving parents priority when hiring aides, but four of these (Charles, Hooper, Mineburg and Violet) nonetheless ensured parental representation in Follow Through classrooms by employing a third adult in each classroom, known variously as a "parent trainee," "rotating aide," or "eight-week aide." These part-time, temporary positions were open only to parents on a rotating basis. Thus, theoretically at least, a parent would occupy one of these positions in the classroom for a specified period of time, receiving a stipend or wage while she worked. At the end of that period (usually 8-16 weeks) that parent would be replaced by another.

These rotating positions offered several advantages to the projects. First, because they were temporary, they were exempt from normal district personnel policies governing the selection and hiring of paraprofessionals. Second, in theory the rotating nature of the position created a constantly growing cadre of skilled parents capable of working both in the classroom and at home with their own children. In practice, because of difficulties in recruiting interested parents, these positions frequently rotated among a very small core group, with parents serving multiple terms. Nonetheless, they did allow three of these sites to get Follow Through parents working in the classroom when district or union policies would have made such employment otherwise impossible.

ALTHOUGH PARENTS WERE WIDELY EMPLOYED AS CLASSROOM AIDES, MANY AIDES WERE PARENTS OF CHILDREN WHO HAD ALREADY GRADUATED FROM THE FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM

Every site studied had at least some parents among their classroom aides, and overall 71 percent of the aide positions were filled by current or former Follow Through parents. However, as Table 6-1 shows, many of these parents no longer had children in the Follow Through program. Overall, only 81 of the

226 aide positions (36%) in the study schools were filled by parents of children currently in the Follow Through program.

As was mentioned in the preceding section, some sites compensated for this low turnover among full-time aides by creating rotating aide positions that were open only to current Follow Through parents. Neither Charles, Hooper or Violet had many parents among their full-time aides, but current parents were present as rotating aides.

ALTHOUGH ULTIMATE AUTHORITY FOR HIRING GENERALLY RESIDED IN THE DISTRICT PERSONNEL OFFICES, FOLLOW THROUGH PACS AND STAFF TYPICALLY HAD CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OVER THE SELECTION OF AIDES AND TENDED TO FAVOR PARENTS IN THAT SELECTION

As Table 6-1 indicates, only six of the 16 Site Study sites permitted school or project staffs to make the ultimate decision in hiring classroom aides. More often, these decisions were the responsibility of the school district personnel office. However, the data also show that Follow Through PACs and staff generally exerted some influence over those hiring decisions. Ten sites reported that their PACs, Project Directors, or other Follow Through staff shaped the district's hiring decisions; another three sites said that those decisions were influenced by building principals or classroom teachers. In several sites the PAC interviewed candidates for aide positions and communicated their recommendations to the principal or district official responsible for hiring. In most cases, respondents said that their recommendations were followed. These findings are again consistent with the FPS results which indicate that parents have had some influence over aide nominations in 50 percent of the schools.

The data on recruitment procedures and selection criteria clearly reinforce the impression that parents were favored in the hiring of classroom aides. Sites where PACs and Follow Through staff were influential in the selection of aides worked hard to inform parents of openings. Generally, these efforts included announcements at parent meetings, notices sent home, and in some

cases personal contact by program staff with potential candidates. Frequently, parents already active as classroom volunteers were given first consideration when aide positions opened.

The criteria used by sites for selecting aides were also geared toward parents. Six sites specifically required applicants to be Follow Through parents; others required Follow Through volunteer experience or familiarity with the program. The most frequently mentioned criterion was educational achievement. Generally, applicants for aide positions were required to have completed high school. In some cases this requirement served to limit parental participation as classroom aides. In Vale, for example, relatively few Follow Through parents had completed high school. When the Board of Education imposed this requirement on Follow Through several years ago the effect was to decrease the number of parents hired as classroom aides. Today, many of the newly hired aides in Vale are from outside the low-income Black community.

One fact not revealed by the table is the general lack of openings for new aides at the sites visited. The recruitment and selection procedures described in Table 6-2 had been dormant at many sites for several years. One site, for example, reported that only two new aides had been hired since 1968. Many respondents were hard-pressed to describe their sites' recruitment and selection procedures because they had never seen them in action.

FINDINGS: CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSROOM AIDES

Table 6-2 summarizes the data from the Site Study about the background characteristics of parent and non-parent classroom aides. Although no major findings emerge from the table, several interesting patterns are suggested. First, almost all aides in the sites studied were female; in all, only five male aides were found across all 16 sites. Second, the age range among aides was broad; although most aides were in their 30s, some sites had noticeably younger aides (for example, 76 percent of the aides at Johns were under 35),

while other sites had substantially older aides (all ten of the aides at Violet, for example, were over 40). Older parent aides were generally parents of former Follow Through children who had been in their jobs for over ten years.

The majority of aides had high school diplomas or equivalency diplomas (GEDs). As noted in the last section, ten sites required high school degrees for employment as aides and an eleventh site preferred them. Five sites had a substantial proportion of aides with bachelors or associates degrees, often earned through the Follow Through career development program.

Finally, although it was not possible to obtain systematic data on the background and previous experiences of all aides, Field Researchers did interview several aides at each site, and these interviews reinforce the earlier finding that Follow Through aides typically had considerable exposure to the school and program prior to their employment as aides. Most aides who were interviewed had worked previously as aides in another program, as Follow Through volunteers, or as PAC members. They typically heard of the aide position by word of mouth from their child's teacher or from program staff. Thus, even where policy did not require that parents be hired as aides, the greater proximity of parent to the program apparently gave them an advantage in the hiring process.

FINDINGS: STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE AIDE COMPONENT

Table 6-3 summarizes the findings relating to the structure and organization of the classroom aide component at the 16 Site Study sites. The table contains data on the age of each site's aide component; on any distinctions that were made between parents and non-parent aides, or between Follow Through and non-Follow Through aides; on the role of various school and project personnel in the aide component; and on site provisions for the monitoring and evaluation of Follow Through aides.

Two important findings emerge from this table and are discussed below.

PROJECTS TREATED PARENT AND NON-PARENT AIDES IDENTICALLY, BUT THEY DID MAKE CLEAR DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN FOLLOW THROUGH AIDES AND OTHER AIDES IN THE SCHOOL

As the entries for "Degree of Distinction" in the table suggest, sites generally made no distinctions in training activities or monitoring between aides who were parents of Follow Through children and those who were not. However, clear distinctions were made between Follow Through aides and other aides in the schools. The lack of distinctions between parents and non-parents anticipates the finding that follows: parent aides were not differentiated from non-parents because most sites perceived classroom aides as part of their projects' instructional components, not as parental involvement. Therefore, the emphasis was on instructional role of aides, regardless of background. However, because they were part of the instructional component, Follow Through aides were typically treated differently from non-Follow Through aides. They were hired separately, supervised separately, trained separately, and assumed classroom duties frequently different from their non-Follow Through colleagues. Some sites reported that Follow Through aides had considerably broader classroom responsibilities than other aides, participating more fully in instructional activities rather than clerical duties. Some respondents even mentioned that their aides should be paid more than other aides to compensate them for those increased responsibilities.

SITES RARELY PERCEIVED THEIR CLASSROOM AIDE COMPONENT AS PRIMARILY A VEHICLE FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT; INSTEAD, AIDES WERE SEEN AS BELONGING WITHIN PROJECTS' INSTRUCTIONAL COMPONENTS

The clearest evidence for this finding is the information in Table 6-3 on divisions of staff responsibility for the aide component. As the table shows, participation by parent involvement staff in the operations of the aide component typically ended with the recruitment and hiring of new aides. From that point, responsibility for training and monitoring aides generally resided with project staff trainers (also called "curriculum assistants" or "master teachers," depending on the sponsor) or Project Director. Only two sites (Serenity and Vale) had Parent Coordinators that played key roles in the

training or monitoring of Follow Through aides. Because they typically became involved only in hiring new aides (a rare event at most sites), Parent Coordinators at many sites had very little day-to-day contact with aides in their program--many of whom had been employed since the program began.

FINDINGS: FUNCTIONING OF THE AIDE COMPONENT

Three aspects of the aide role were examined in the Site Study: (1) the nature and extent of participation by parent aides in classroom instructional activities; (2) aide involvement in other non-instructional activities in the classroom or school, and (3) aide participation in classroom and project decision making. We were, of course, particularly interested in the role of parent aides in each of the above areas, but since projects typically did not distinguish between parent and non-parent aides, both types of aides are included in the discussion that follows.

The data relating to the functioning of the aide component are summarized in Table 6-4. Three major patterns emerge from these data and are discussed below.

CLASSROOM AIDES IN FOLLOW THROUGH PLAYED A SUBSTANTIAL INSTRUCTIONAL ROLE IN THE CLASSROOM, WHERE THEY FREQUENTLY FUNCTIONED MORE AS "CO-TEACHERS" THAN AS ASSISTANTS

Only one site (Lincoln) reported that aides had a minor role in classroom instruction. As in the Federal Programs Survey, the overwhelming majority of sites reported that the two most frequent activities engaged in by aides were (1) working with individual children or with small groups of children to reinforce skills introduced by the teacher, or (2) assisting children with particular academic difficulties or weaknesses. Ten sites involved their aides in planning lessons for children, and six actually had aides present original lessons to small groups in the class.

The case of Mineburg exemplifies the instructional role found for aides:

The role of the classroom aid^a is to instruct and to assist the teacher in the classroom. Assistant teachers, the highest job category of the three job categories of aides, have the most duties. Those duties are: (1) to share with the lead teacher responsibility for reading, handwriting and scheduling; (2) to assume responsibility for math curriculum; and (3) to assist the lead teacher in all phases of classroom procedure and student evaluation. Instructional activities that may be performed by the aides include planning lessons, presenting concepts, reinforcing skills, and monitoring student progress. Typically, they instruct small groups of children, usually 5-7. In fact, walking into the Follow Through areas at each school at the Mineburg site, it is difficult to distinguish ranks of any adults--from lead teacher down to parent trainee.

Not surprisingly, the role of rotating aides or parent trainees was frequently more limited than that of permanent aides. Rotating aides were typically assigned responsibilities only in specific subject areas, such as handwriting or spelling, but their duties in these areas were often substantial. Frequently, a rotating aide would be expected to plan and teach lessons independently in her assigned area.

Aside from actual instructional responsibilities in the classrooms, aides were frequently expected to help also with other more clerical duties, such as decorating bulletin boards, grading tests, running dittos. Further, 11 sites also used aides to supervise children in the lunchroom, on the playground, on buses, etc.

Several sites with a large proportion of parents in aide positions relied on those aides to serve as a communication link between the schools and parents. Some aides, for example, were expected to participate in parent-teacher conferences, to make home visits, or to orient parents to the program and their roles in it. Teachers frequently reported that their aides gave them personal information about a child's home environment that enabled them to

better instruct the child. At three sites, aides had additional responsibility for getting parents involved in school activities, such as attending PAC meetings.

To summarize then, aides in Follow Through played a major role in classroom instruction. At many sites they were considered more as second teachers than as assistants. Further, although their instructional role was paramount, aides also had other duties that ranged from the clerical to home-school liaison.

ALTHOUGH AIDES GENERALLY HAD SUBSTANTIAL INPUT INTO CLASSROOM PLANNING AND DECISION MAKING, THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN WIDER PROJECT AND SCHOOL DECISIONS WAS NEGLIGIBLE

As Table 6-4 shows, aides at the 16 Follow Through sites studied had extensive involvement in classroom decision making. Ten sites reported, for example, that their aides participated in planning lessons. At some sites aides had sole responsibility for planning activities for the children with whom they worked; at others aides worked with the teachers to develop lesson plans. Even at sites where aides did not formally participate in classroom planning, such as Woodville, aides were still reported to have considerable influence over teacher plans through informal feedback provided on individual children.

Despite this involvement in classroom planning, almost without exception, Follow Through aides had little influence on wider project or school decisions. Aides were occasionally members or regular attendees of PAC meetings, where they had some input, but were generally barred from voting because they were district employees.

One reason for this low level of involvement in decisions outside the classroom was the paucity of communication among aides. Unlike teachers, aides were typically paid an hourly wage and were not compensated for time after school when meetings would normally be held. Consequently, few sites had

formal meetings for aides or invited them to faculty meetings. As a result, aides had little contact with issues and events outside their own classroom.

FINDINGS: PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE AIDE COMPONENT

The final aspect of site classroom aide components studied was the nature and amount of programmatic support provided by the project to classroom aides. Three aspects of this support were examined: (1) mechanisms for communication, both among aides and between aides and professional staff; (2) pre-service and in-service training; and (3) career-development programs made available for aides in accordance with the Follow Through regulations. Data from each of the 16 sites in these three areas are summarized in Table 6-5. Three major findings emerge from these tables and are discussed below.

FOLLOW THROUGH CLASSROOM AIDES WERE RELATIVELY ISOLATED, BOTH FROM OTHER AIDES AND FROM PROFESSIONAL STAFF IN THE PROJECT, OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

As already noted, the data from most of the Site Study sites present a picture of classroom aides as having very little contact either with their peers or with professional staff outside their classroom. Only five sites had formal mechanisms established to bring aides together to meet and discuss issues or concerns. Most relied instead on whatever informal communication might occur in the hallways or lunchroom. According to respondents, however, even this informal communication was infrequent. Communication between aides and professional and administrative staff was similarly lacking. Only five sites (Falling Waters, Johns, Westland, Woodville, and Circle City) invited aides to faculty meetings, and few aides attended those meetings, even when they were invited. More often, aides were not invited to attend staff meetings and had to rely entirely on the classroom teacher for news of the wider program.

With the exception of Vale (where the Parent Coordinator actively discouraged aides from interacting out of fear that such interaction would result in gossip and trouble for the program), this isolation among aides was apparently not the product of conscious designs by project staff. Some sites reported

that, even when they attended meetings, aides were reluctant to talk in the presence of professional and administrative staffs. Also, because some sites did not pay aides to stay beyond the end of the school day and did not have the funds to provide release time, aides were unavailable for meetings either during school or at the end of the day.

MOST SITES PROVIDED EXTENSIVE TRAINING FOR AIDES

Every project in the Site Study provided at least some training for its classroom aides in the skills needed to function in the classroom, and most offered a great deal. Serenity, for example, offered an intensive six-week training program that was required of anyone desiring to become a classroom aide. Other sites offered regular workshops for aides conducted by the sponsor or staff trainers that concentrated on topics that ranged from classroom management techniques to specific aspects of the sponsor's instructional model. In several cases, there was no differentiation between the training provided for teachers and that provided for aides; both attended.

The extensiveness and depth of the training provided aides reflects the substantive role played by aides in the classroom. In almost every case the emphasis in training was on providing aides with the skills necessary to function as "co-teachers" in the classroom.

These findings are again consistent with the FPS, where 98 percent of the Follow Through schools that employed parent aides provided an average of 60 hours per year for those aides.

MOST SITES HAD A CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR AIDES

In accordance with the regulatory emphasis on career development for para-professionals, all but two sites (Circle City and Lincoln) had some form of career development program, although the precise nature and extent of this program varied greatly. In fact, many of the aides interviewed identified this program as an important reason for becoming an aide.

The types of support provided to aides in these programs ranged from complete payment of tuition and, in some cases, books (Golden, Johns, Mineburg, Serenity, Silvertown, and Vale) to simple provision of counseling for aides on the availability of programs in nearby institutions (Charles, Falling Waters, Hooper, Point, and Violet).

Despite these widespread programs, career development was at most sites a casualty of declining funds. During the mid-1970s the national Follow Through office made supplementary training funds available to Follow Through sites that wished to apply for them. Several sites in our sample had these funds. These supplementary funds, though, were being phased out of Follow Through and were being used by sites only to support aides currently enrolled in educational programs. As these participants graduated or dropped out, the monies were eliminated. Consequently, sites had either to cut back on career development or make other arrangements, such as using money from the project budget, obtaining tuition waivers from local colleges, or sponsoring their own uncredited in-service training.

DISCUSSION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS CLASSROOM AIDES

To summarize, three major findings emerged from the preceding discussion about the nature and extent of parental involvement as classroom aides: (1) it was apparent that with a few exceptions Follow Through did emphasize the use of parents as aides and actively recruited parents when openings occurred; (2) there were surprisingly few parents of current Follow Through children actually working in the classrooms studied; and (3) all Follow Through aides tended to play a substantial instructional role in the classroom, often acting as "co-teachers."

These findings raise several questions that will be addressed in this section: Why did Follow Through sites emphasize the placement of parents in aide positions? Why, given this emphasis, were so few parents of current Follow Through children found? What accounts for the important role played by aides in the classroom?

WHY DID THE FOLLOW THROUGH SITES EMPHASIZE THE PLACEMENT OF PARENTS IN AIDE POSITIONS?

The obvious answer to this question is, of course, that sites emphasized parents as aides because the regulations require it. However, some sites ignored this requirement without repercussions, and others complied with enough enthusiasm to suggest that the regulations alone do not explain the widespread commitment to parents in the classroom. Other factors underlying this emphasis appear to have included the attitudes and efforts of sponsors and key Follow Through site staff.

All of the seven sponsored sites that had current or former parents occupying more than 75 percent of the aide positions (Compass, Mineburg, Woodville, Circle City, Falling Waters, Serenity, and Silvertown) had sponsors with models that explicitly called for parents working in an instructional role in the classroom.

The sentiments of sponsors were frequently echoed and reinforced by the attitudes of local Follow Through personnel. The reasons offered by project staff, however, for commitment to parents as aides often extended beyond the instructional value of parents to include the benefits of such employment for the parents as individuals. Staff tended to see employment in the classroom as a way to help members of the disadvantaged community acquire the education and skills needed to improve their status. Project Directors and staff frequently pointed with pride to parents who had completed their education through the Follow Through career development program and had moved on to positions of greater responsibility in the schools or community.

WHY WERE SO FEW PARENTS OF CURRENT FOLLOW THROUGH CHILDREN FOUND IN AIDE POSITIONS?

One of the more interesting findings to emerge from our investigation was that despite the widespread commitment to hiring parents for aide positions, relatively few parents of current Follow Through children were found to occupy

those positions. At many sites the parent aides were hired during the early days of Follow Through, when individual projects had more influence over internal personnel decisions. These parents then remained in their positions after their children graduated from the program. In some districts, those who did leave were replaced following district procedures that did not place a premium on Follow Through parenthood. Thus, we frequently found that the older, more experienced aides in a program were former parents of Follow Through children, while the younger, more recently hired aides were non-parents. In some cases, such as Vale, these new recruits not only had no children in the program, they were not even from the same income and ethnic group served by the program.

A second, related factor associated with the relative paucity of current parents among Follow Through aides was the low rate of turnover among existing aides. None of the programs studied required that aides resign when their children entered fourth grade. In many sites, district and union regulations would have made such a requirement impossible. It could also be argued that such a policy would be impractical for simple humanitarian reasons; the job market in some Follow Through communities was depressed, and many aides were single parents who relied exclusively on their Follow Through income for survival. Nonetheless, because aides were permitted to continue beyond their child's graduation, there were extremely few opportunities for new parents to become aides. Many of the "former" Follow Through parents at the Study sites had been in their positions for over ten years.

The effects of the low turnover rate among aides were amplified in some cases by the steady erosion of Follow Through funds in recent years. Several sites responded to the effective cuts in their annual Follow Through grants by eliminating aide positions rather than filling openings as they occurred. The effect of these cutbacks was again to limit the number of opportunities for current Follow Through parents to become aides.

A final factor contributing to the relative absence of current parents as aides was the view commonly expressed by project staffs that classroom aides were part of the education/instruction component of their project rather than an aspect of the parent involvement program. According to this view, it was important that Follow Through parents be hired for aide positions because of the perspective they could bring to the classroom, but less important that these positions serve as a vehicle for involving current parents in the classroom.

On the contrary, many respondents noted the real advantages associated with longevity among aides. Follow through teachers and their aides are expected to implement a particular educational approach in the classrooms. Considerable time and energy are expended by sponsors and site staff in training classroom teaching teams in these approaches. At many sites, high turnover among teachers meant that the classroom aides were better trained in the sponsor's model than the teachers with whom they worked. These experienced and knowledgeable aides reportedly lent stability and continuity to site classroom programs, thereby ensuring quality instruction for children. According to respondents, the educational advantages of low turnover among aides far outweigh the disadvantages of having few current parents in these positions.

WHY WERE FOLLOW THROUGH AIDES ABLE TO ASSUME A MAJOR ROLE IN CLASSROOM PLANNING AND INSTRUCTION?

The answer to this question seems to lie (a) in the insistence of sponsors that aides play a major classroom role; (b) in the considerable experience of aides in the program; (c) in the amount of training provided for aides by sponsors and staff; and (d) in the generally supportive attitudes of teachers and administrators toward the aide program.

The role of sponsors in shaping the aide component at sites has already been noted several times. Many of the models represented in the Follow Through program require individualization of instruction and decentralized classroom

organization. Additional adults are necessary in these models to ensure that children receive the individual attention necessary for progress. Consequently, sponsors generally are quite specific about the role that aides must play in the classroom and do whatever they can to ensure that that role is implemented.

Expectations about the role that an individual aide would play in the classroom varied with the level of competence and experience of that aide. As mentioned already, the aides in the Site Study were typically quite experienced, many having been in the program since its inception. Because of this high level of experience, teachers generally expected that their aides would play a substantive instructional role. Frequently, as we have noted, aides were viewed more as "second teachers" than as assistants to the teacher.

One of the principal findings reported in this section was that sites and sponsors tended to provide intensive and ongoing training for their aides in the skills needed to play an instructional role in the classroom. These workshops were in some cases augmented by career development programs provided through local educational institutions. Because of this extensive training, the aides in Follow Through were reportedly well prepared to assume the role expected of them.

Finally, support for the Follow Through aide component was widespread among teachers and administrative staff in the school. Even those who were not supportive of parental involvement in the classroom believed that their aides were essential to them. Occasionally, as we have said, the aide in a classroom was more experienced in the model and in teaching than the teacher.

Teachers generally said that they appreciated the extra help and the extra attention that children received because of their aides. Some said that their aides helped them to better understand the children and community with whom they worked. Where aides did not play a major role in instruction, it was typically because the teacher did not want them to, and not because of school or project policy. Some teachers complained that aides were not qualified to

teach; others expressed concern that their aides would usurp their relationship with the children. These objections, however, were infrequent compared with the general pattern of support found among teachers for the roles played by aides in their classes.

OUTCOMES FROM PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS CLASSROOM AIDES

Although no attempt was made in the Site Study to systematically evaluate the impact of parents as classroom aides, Field Researchers did collect extensive anecdotal accounts and impressions from respondents relating to the impact both on the schools as institutions and on student development. However, since most sites did not differentiate between parent and non-parent aides, the discussion that follows focuses on the impact of having aides in the classroom and only occasionally on the effects of Follow Through parents in aide positions.

The data suggest that aides have had a substantial impact on the instructional methods and materials used in the schools. Respondents at nine sites reported that having aides reduced the teachers' work load and freed them to work more with individual children. Nine sites also reported that the aides made it possible for students to receive more individualized instruction. Thirteen sites said that aides made it possible for classes to have more materials for students, particularly where aides were given more responsibility for lesson preparation.

There were also widespread reports of the benefits for students from having aides in the class. Eleven sites reported positive changes in student development. Seven said that having parents in the classroom resulted in student attitudes that were more favorable toward school; as one respondent said, "If it's important enough for the parents to be there, children then see education as more important." Several sites mentioned that children often responded better to the parents because they could identify with them, since they came from the same community and ethnic group.

Effects of aides on student development were more difficult to trace. A few sites mentioned improvement in learning and/or grades. For example, at one site where aides received training in basic skills, student test scores improved. Several sites also reported better attendance and less behavioral problems among students as a result of aides in the classroom. As one respondent said, children behave better when they know that their parents might be told by an aide of misbehaviors, since aides tend to be from the same communities as the children.

Sites also reported that personal development in the aides themselves was an important outcome of the component. The most frequently mentioned outcomes of this type were financial and educational. Follow Through programs have been successful in helping low-income parents achieve some measure of financial security, through employment in the project and through career development programs. Parents also reported that being an aide helped them to understand the educational system better and gave them an opportunity to participate in their children's education.

Staff were also affected by the presence of aides in the classroom. Seven sites mentioned that having aides in their classes helped teachers to better understand the children; the presence of aides gave teachers insight into the whole child, his environment, culture, and family. Teachers also said that working with parent aides had improved their attitudes toward and relationship with parents.*

*Only a few sites reported any negative outcomes among teachers: at two (Vale and Violet), staff reported feeling threatened by parents in the classroom; at Vale this was because teachers feared that aides would usurp their relationship with the children; in Violet some teachers felt that the parents were "out to get them."

III. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: VOLUNTEERS IN THE CLASSROOM

A second way in which parents can participate in the instructional process is as unpaid volunteers in the classroom.* As mentioned earlier, participation as volunteers is explicitly encouraged in the Follow Through regulations. Despite this encouragement, however, the data suggest that actual classroom volunteers were relatively scarce in the 16 sites studied here. This section addresses the nature and reasons for that involvement. It should be emphasized, however, that this section focuses only on classroom volunteers, not on school volunteers in general. Several sites identified here as having few classroom volunteers had active volunteer programs in other areas of the school, such as helping in the library, chaperoning field trips, making materials, etc. These other forms of volunteerism are discussed in Chapter 8 (Other Forms of Parental Involvement).

FINDINGS: STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTEER COMPONENTS

Table 6-6 summarizes the findings from the Site Study regarding the structure and organization of classroom volunteer components at the Follow Through sites. Several features of structure and organization were of interest: (1) the number of classroom volunteers; (2) recruitment procedures; (3) how volunteers were assigned to classrooms; (4) who coordinated the component; (5) procedures for monitoring and evaluating volunteers; and (6) changes in the component. Information about numbers of parent classroom volunteers was sometimes difficult to collect because sites varied considerably in the quality of their records. Even sites with relatively precise records frequently pooled classroom volunteers with other non-instructional volunteers, making it

*Several sites paid parents a stipend to work in the classroom with the teacher and paraprofessional and called these parents "volunteers." For purposes of this study, however, these paid parents have been considered classroom aides, and these programs (frequently called "parent trainee" or "rotating aide" programs) are described in part II of this chapter.

impossible to reconstruct the number of parents who actually worked in the classrooms. In some cases, therefore, the numbers presented in the table represent total volunteers rather than classroom volunteers exclusively.

Two basic findings emerge from the table and are discussed below.

SIX SITES HAD ORGANIZED PROGRAMS TO ATTRACT PARENTS AS CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

Despite the emphasis in the regulations on parent classroom volunteers, only six sites had organized programs that sought to recruit and place parents in the classroom. These sites (Compass, Serenity, Silvertown, Vale, Westland, and Woodville) had classroom volunteer components that ranged in size from fewer than ten parents to more than 150 parent classroom volunteers in Westland. These numbers can be misleading, however, because of differences among site strategies for deploying volunteers; Vale had a small number of regular volunteers in most of its classrooms who worked with the teacher each day, while Westland used more parent volunteers intermittently. Regardless of deployment strategies, though, each of these six sites managed to maintain a significant volunteer presence in its classroom.

The techniques employed at these sites with classroom volunteer programs were fairly similar. In each case, recruitment and coordination efforts were centralized--usually in the person of the Parent Coordinator but occasionally in the Staff Trainer for the project. The only exceptions to this practice were in Vale, where the district had assumed responsibility for what had been a Follow Through volunteer program, and in Compass, where powerful school PACs ran the volunteer program. All six sites, though, employed extensive recruitment procedures that relied at least in part on personal contact. Vale, for example, surveyed all parents in the fall asking them to indicate their interests, skills and availability for volunteer work. The school Volunteer Coordinator and the Follow Through Parent Coordinator then contacted parents who responded to place them in suitable volunteer positions, both inside and outside the classroom.

Westland employed a variation of Vale's recruitment strategy. There a sign-up sheet was sent home with children, along with a notice asking parents to indicate their willingness to volunteer in the program. Parents who indicated their willingness to volunteer on these sheets were then contacted by the Follow Through Parent Coordinator. These personal contacts were frequently accompanied by a variety of less personal communications from the project to parents, such as newsletter announcements, posted notices in the school or parent room, bulletin boards, or even printed brochures.

In contrast to these relatively intensive efforts to attract parent classroom volunteers, activities at the remaining ten sites were considerably less formal and, frequently, non-existent. Several sites reported occasional classroom volunteers, but no coordinated or systematic efforts to recruit them. The volunteers that were found at these sites were generally recruited by individual teachers without the assistance of the project staff. Five sites (Hooper, Lincoln, Mineburg, Point, and Violet) reported that there were no parent volunteers working in their classrooms (although parents did volunteer for other duties in the schools). Three of these five (Hooper, Mineburg, and Violet) did have a parental presence in their Follow Through classes through their stipended parent trainee (or rotating aide) program, sometimes even referring to these parents as "volunteers." However, none of these projects had parents working in classrooms as unpaid volunteers.

FINDINGS: CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

Information about the characteristics of sites' classroom volunteers was difficult to obtain, both because of the transience of individual volunteers and because of the imprecision in local records. Table 6-7, however, summarizes the data that were available on the age, ethnicity, SES, and education of volunteers at the six sites that had classroom volunteer programs.

No strong patterns emerge from these data. As might be expected, most classroom volunteers were women with high school educations. One pattern that respondents from at least two sites (Vale and Silvertown) did note, but which

cannot be substantiated with the available data, was that the classroom volunteers tended to be from a higher SES group than the general Follow Through population. Middle-class parents could better afford to work without compensation; low-income parents felt less comfortable in the schools in these southern communities; and teachers claimed that it was more difficult to find work for parents who themselves had little schooling. This tendency was more pronounced in Vale, where the Parent Coordinator consciously screened low income Blacks from becoming classroom volunteers out of fear that they did not know how to "behave properly" in the school setting.

FINDINGS: THE ROLE OF CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

Table 6-8 summarizes the information collected at the six sites with classroom volunteer components about the role played by their volunteers in the classroom. Three aspects of this role were of particular interest:

(1) involvement of volunteers in actual instruction of children; (2) other non-instructional classroom activities engaged in by volunteers; and (3) participation of volunteers in classroom planning and decision making. Several apparent patterns can be seen in the summarized data and are discussed below.

ALTHOUGH CLASSROOM ROLES VARIED FROM TEACHER TO TEACHER, PARENT VOLUNTEERS TYPICALLY DID HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL INSTRUCTIONAL ROLE IN THE CLASSROOM

The actual role played by an individual classroom volunteer was generally determined by the classroom teacher based on the interests and skills of the parent and the predelections of the teacher. However, respondents at each of the six sites said that parent volunteers were generally given substantive teaching assignments with individuals or groups of children. Volunteers rarely presented new material to children; but, once presented by the teacher or aide, they frequently worked with individual children to reinforce the skills just presented. Four of the six sites (Woodville, Westland, Vale and Silvertown) also reported volunteers working with groups of children. Volunteers in Silvertown were said to help small groups of slow children

master the skills being taught by the teacher. Volunteers in Vale, Westland, and Woodville were also used as resources to supplement normal classroom activities. One volunteer in Westland, for example, worked at the local zoo and brought animals to the class; another at the same site conducted all music instruction in the classroom.

Parents also had a variety of non-instructional roles in the classroom. Frequently, these duties were in addition to instructional activities; but, depending on the desires of the teacher and interests of certain parents, there were cases where these non-instructional duties predominated. Non-instructional activities included clerical work, such as mimeographing worksheets or correcting papers, as well as chaperoning children on field trips. Parent volunteers typically had little or no involvement in classroom planning or decision making.

FINDINGS: PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE CLASSROOM VOLUNTEER COMPONENT

The final aspect of the classroom volunteer programs investigated was the support provided by the program (and, in some cases, the district) to the operations of the program. This support tended to fall into three categories: (1) training, both for volunteers and for teaching staff; (2) support services to make it easier for parents to volunteer; and (3) support in the form of recognition, awards, etc., for parents who did volunteer. The findings in each of these areas are summarized for the six sites with volunteer components in Table 6-9. Two major findings emerge from these data and are discussed below.

EACH OF THE SITES WITH ACTIVE CLASSROOM VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS PROVIDED EXTENSIVE TRAINING FOR VOLUNTEERS AND (IN SOME CASES) STAFF

Data relating to training were available from only five of the six active sites, and each of these provided some kind of training to parents who worked as volunteers in the classroom. This training took a variety of forms. At Serenity, all volunteers, teachers, and aides together participated in six

weeks of after-school training conducted by the Follow Through staff on the sponsor's model, classroom management, etc. Similarly, volunteers in Woodville participated in weekly after-school training sessions conducted exclusively for parent volunteers by the Parent Coordinator. In contrast, volunteers in the Silvertown Follow Through project received but a single one-and-one-half-hour orientation session sponsored by the district and a single orientation day conducted by their classroom teacher.

Three sites (Serenity, Vale, and Westland) also provided training for teaching and administrative staff on how to use volunteers effectively. In Vale this training (provided jointly by the district and Follow Through) was extensive, taking place in a two-and-one-half-week preservice workshop each fall devoted exclusively to how to work with volunteers.

SITES WITH ACTIVE CLASSROOM VOLUNTEER COMPONENTS GENERALLY PROVIDED OTHER FORMS OF INCENTIVES AND SUPPORT SERVICES AS WELL

Four of the six sites that actively tried to recruit parent classroom volunteers also provided a variety of incentives and support services designed to attract parents into the classroom. Most common among these was the awards dinner or tea, at which active parent volunteers would be rewarded with a certificate or other prize for their contributions to the school. Vale extended this approach (in a district-wide volunteer program inspired and, to a large extent, managed by Follow Through) to include annual award to schools that met three criteria: (a) the school had a Volunteer Coordinator; (b) the school provided some training for teachers in the use of volunteers; and (c) the school accumulated twice as many volunteer hours as the number of students enrolled in the school.

DISCUSSION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

To summarize, two major findings emerged from the preceding consideration of parental involvement as classroom volunteers: (1) only six of the sites

studied had active programs to recruit volunteers for Follow Through classrooms; and (2) sites that did have such programs tended to provide a substantial instructional role for volunteers.* In light of Follow Through regulatory insistence on involvement of parents as volunteers in local programs, these findings suggest several questions that will be addressed in this discussion: Why weren't more sites trying to recruit classroom volunteers? Why were some sites able to attract a number of parent classroom volunteers? Why, at sites with active classroom volunteer programs, were volunteers able to play such a substantive instructional role in the classroom?

WHY WEREN'T MORE PROJECTS TRYING TO RECRUIT PARENT CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS?

Examining the ten sites at which there were no ongoing efforts to attract parent volunteers to the classroom at the time of the data collection, it is apparent that most of the ten sites did emphasize parental involvement; several, such as Mineburg and Point, had active and even powerful PACs that coordinated far reaching parent programs in other function areas. Why, given this emphasis on parental involvement, did they not also seek to draw parents into the classroom? The precise answer to this question varies from site to site, but three general themes recur: (1) some projects had other mechanisms

*Although the data from Haney & Pennington's reanalysis of the 1975 Follow Through teacher and parent surveys are different from those reported here, they do provide some comparisons. In that reanalysis Follow Through teachers reported 3.6 different parents serving as volunteers in their classroom at least once (compared with 1.9 different parents in the Non-Follow Through comparison group). Further, almost twice as many Follow Through as Non-Follow Through teachers (13% vs. 7%) reported "a great deal" of parent involvement in their classroom that year, and less than half as many Follow Through teachers reported "no involvement" as compared to Non-Follow Through teachers (9% vs. 20%). Percentages of teachers reporting "some" classroom parental involvement were about equal (FT: 76% vs. NFT: 73%). Follow Through parents who were surveyed more often said that they worked in the school--either as a volunteer or for pay (FT: 28% vs. NFT: 13%). These surveys did not differentiate between paid parent paraprofessionals and volunteers, but they do suggest more extensive parental involvement in the schools than our site study data indicate.

for ensuring a parental presence in the classroom; (2) funding cutbacks at some sites forced elimination of the organizational and support features that once made a classroom volunteer program possible, and (3) staff, teachers, and even parents frequently did not support the notion of parent volunteers in the classroom.

As noted in the earlier discussion of parental involvement as classroom aides, several of the sites in the Site Study sample paid a stipend for parents to work in the classroom on a temporary or rotating basis as "Parent Trainees." These programs were successful at attracting parents into the classroom, but the data suggest that such stipended programs did not coexist with volunteer programs. Consequently, Charles, Hooper, Mineburg, and Violet all reported a substantial parental "presence" in their classes, but as stipended Parent Trainees, not as volunteers. In some cases, such as Hooper and Violet, these trainees were even called "volunteers" by project staff, making the notion of a parallel non-stipended volunteer program redundant in the eyes of staff. As one staff person noted: "Why should a parent volunteer to work for nothing when she can be paid as a Parent Trainee?" Further, since most of the stipended programs were themselves having difficulty attracting enough interested parents to fill all openings, any parent that was recruited was automatically admitted as a Parent Trainee, not as a volunteer.

Two sites (Compass and Johns) reported that the above phenomenon extended to classroom aides: parents were reluctant to volunteer in the classroom because of the perception that other parents were paid to be aides and additional volunteers were unnecessary.

Funding cutbacks had struck some sites' volunteer components hard. Falling Waters, for example, used to have an extensive volunteer program that placed parents in the classroom. However, funding cuts forced the elimination of the half-time resource teacher responsible for coordinating the program. Without the leadership and coordination that this staff person supplied, the classroom volunteer program at this site withered to the point where only an occasional parent volunteered for classroom work. Funding constraints also forced

elimination of certain key support services. As of 1979-80, for example, the training program for volunteers and staff in Westland was discontinued because of lack of funds. Cutbacks at other sites forced elimination of awards banquets and other services that encouraged parents to participate.

A third deterrent to establishing classroom volunteer programs was the attitudes of staff and parents. Not all teachers and principals were universally receptive to the notion of parents in the classroom. Teachers often said that parents were not trained to work in the classroom, that education was the proper domain of trained professionals. These views were occasionally echoed by school administrators and even project parents. However, the data from sites that did have successful programs suggested that reluctance among staff need not be an insurmountable barrier to classroom volunteer programs. Several of the sites with programs had teachers or administrators who resisted a classroom role for parents at the outset. However, skillful management by Parent Coordinators and project staff frequently overcame this resistance by demonstrating that parents could indeed contribute positively to the instructional process.

WHY WERE SOME SITES ABLE TO ATTRACT PARENT CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS?

The data suggest that the primary reason why some sites were able to attract parents to the classroom was that they had an organized recruitment and training effort that was supported by the project and coordinated by a single individual. The importance of this coordination is illustrated by the experience of Falling Waters and Woodville. Falling Waters once had a half-time resource teacher with responsibility for recruiting and training classroom volunteers. While she was with the program, respondents report that classroom volunteers were common. When her position was eliminated for budgetary reasons, however, the number of classroom volunteers dwindled considerably.

Woodville, in contrast, instituted a coordinated volunteer program shortly before the data collection. Prior to that, individual teachers were

responsible for recruiting and training parents to work in their classrooms, and volunteers were few. Teachers complained that parents were inadequately trained to participate effectively in instruction and that they, the teachers, did not have the time to provide the needed training. When one staff member was given responsibility for the classroom volunteer program, however, the situation changed markedly, according to respondents. Whereas recruitment and scheduling were once handled by teachers, the coordinator now contacted parents and scheduled classroom hours. Further, where once there had been only haphazard training for parents, now there were regular training sessions in which parents were instructed in the skills needed to assume a meaningful classroom role.

As mentioned earlier, the data suggest that a dedicated and skilled volunteer coordinator can do much to overcome resistance from teachers and parents about volunteers in the classroom. In Westland, for example, the volunteer coordinator surveyed parents early in the year to identify interests and skills that could be useful in the classroom. This information was then used to match parent and teacher needs and interests. The Parent Coordinator in Vale mentioned that support among administrators and teachers for parents was growing because volunteers had been placed by the coordinator in positions where they could demonstrate their worth and show reluctant staff that parents in the classroom do not lead inevitably to trouble for the teacher and principal.

A second, related reason for the apparent success of some programs at recruiting parent classroom volunteers was in the specific practices that sites used to encourage parents to participate. All six of the sites with functioning classroom volunteer components employed personal contacts from project staff to parents as a means to attract parents to the program. These personal contacts were generally supplemented by other impersonal methods, such as notes, newsletters, and surveys, but all followed these impersonal contacts with personal telephone calls or home visits to recruit parents.

A final reason,* at least in some cases, for the success of sites at attracting parent volunteers seems to have been the range of support services provided to parents who did choose to participate. These services were provided to overcome some of obstacles to volunteering most commonly mentioned by parents: (a) they did not feel comfortable or welcome in the school; (b) they lacked child care for younger children; and (c) they lacked transportation. No site provided more of these services than Westland, where the project provided baby sitting service, free lunches, and transportation to parents wishing to volunteer in the classroom. Other sites provided a variety of less tangible incentives and rewards to make parent volunteers feel welcome and appreciated, such as awards banquets, teas with the superintendents, and certificates of appreciation.

WHY WERE PARENT VOLUNTEERS ABLE TO PLAY A SUBSTANTIAL INSTRUCTIONAL ROLE IN THE CLASSROOM?

The evidence suggests that training, the efforts of the volunteer coordinator, and the attitudes of individual teachers and principals were the three key factors explaining why volunteers at most of the sites with organized programs were able to assume an instructional role in the classroom. As mentioned earlier, all five of the sites with volunteer programs about which there are data provided parents with training in their classroom role. Respondents at these sites reported that this training was important because it gave parents the skills needed to work effectively with children in the classroom.

*No respondent mentioned it as a causal factor, but it is true that the Follow Through program permits projects to count parent volunteer hours as part of the required district contribution to the Follow Through program. Only some sites however, included these numbers in their proposal; those that did multiplied the number of volunteer hours by a presumed hourly rate to arrive at a dollar value for volunteer contributions. This dollar amount was then listed as a district contribution to the overall project budget.

Even with this training, however, individual teachers and administrators sometimes resisted giving parents more than a clerical role. According to staff and parents who were interviewed, some of these recalcitrant teachers and principals simply could not be persuaded otherwise, and in those settings parents continued to play a minor role in the classroom. In other cases, however, the volunteer coordinator was able to either intercede directly to persuade the reluctant teacher that a larger role was possible, or simply place a clerical volunteer who, through training and experience, gradually grew into a more active role in instruction. In either case, teachers gradually came to provide parent volunteers with more instructional responsibility.

It should also be noted that parents themselves were frequently reluctant to assume more than a clerical role in the classroom. Many cases were reported, though, of parents who gradually shed their reluctance through experience and training and began to participate more fully in classroom instruction.

OUTCOMES FROM PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

We sought evidence of the consequence of the classroom volunteer component both on the participating parents as individuals and on the school. Respondents at sites reported several instances of outcomes in both areas. For example, one principal said that his school's volunteer program brought parents to the school and let them see what was happening there; this exposure then stimulated parental interest in other school functions. Several other respondents echoed this finding, reporting that parents were more aware and supportive of Follow Through as a result of their experience with it. These newly supportive parents then publicized the program to their friends and neighbors. This supportiveness extended at some sites to actually writing letters to the local Board of Education urging continuation of Follow Through.

There were two instances (Westland and Vale) where the classroom volunteer component proved so successful that the district adopted it and expanded it to other schools. In Vale this adoption by the district led to appointment in

every district school of volunteer coordinators who were responsible for preparing a plan for recruiting parents to work in the school and classroom.

A final outcome mentioned by staff and teachers was that the additional volunteer adults in the classroom helped teachers to implement the individualized instructional approach advocated by many of the sponsors' models. Volunteers freed teachers to concentrate on presenting concepts while aides and volunteers tutored individual children.

There were some negative outcomes reported by teachers and staff at some sites. The most frequently mentioned were problems associated with a lack of continuity in classroom volunteers. Some sites had volunteers regularly assigned to a classroom; others, though, had volunteers who came to the school but occasionally. Teachers mentioned two problems with the latter approach. First, some said that this lack of continuity was confusing for the children. Second, some teachers said that they could not plan effectively for volunteers because they were never certain if they were going to have one on a given day. These complaints from teachers were relatively infrequent and were far outweighed by the benefits attributed to classroom volunteers in the classroom.

IV. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT: TEACHERS OF THEIR OWN CHILDREN AT HOME

A third way in which parents may become involved in the instructional process is as teachers of their own children at home. This is the form of parental involvement that is most frequently encountered in the literature; indeed, this is what many writers refer to as "parental involvement." As noted earlier, attention to parents as teachers of their own children in the home evolved from research findings indicating the importance of home factors in student academic growth and success in school. Most of the Follow Through sponsors attend to this form of parental involvement to some extent, and at least two models focus primarily on fostering home instruction and a strong working partnership between the home and school.

In the Site Study we concentrated upon activities and programs implemented by local projects that encouraged parents to participate in reinforcing lessons taught in the school. Although accounts abounded of individual parents helping their children on homework assignments, the Site Study focused on organized efforts sponsored by local projects to foster and guide this activity. This focus meant that we did not attempt to trace the extent to which parents at different sites actually worked with their children on school subjects. Rather, Field Researchers sought to discover and describe any programmatic efforts to train and encourage parents to work with their children at home.

FINDINGS

The data from the 16 Follow Through Site Study sites relating to parental involvement as teachers of their own children at home are summarized in Table 6-10. Several patterns emerge from this table and are discussed below.

MOST SITES PROVIDED SOME ACTIVITIES TO INVOLVE PARENTS IN TEACHING THEIR CHILDREN AT HOME

As Table 6-10 reveals, ten of the 16 sites in the Follow Through Site Study sample provided some activities designed to involve parents in teaching their own children at home. Two of the remaining six sites (Circle City and Falling Waters) once had functioning programs in this area but discontinued them because, respondents said, parents were not sufficiently educated themselves to participate effectively. These numbers are actually somewhat lower than might have been anticipated from the FPS, where 97 percent of the Follow Through schools reported efforts to involve parents in the educational process at home.

The actual types of assistance offered by sites to parents varied, but generally fit into four categories:

- Providing materials, educational games and toys that children could use with their parents at home
- Producing and distributing handbooks, study guides, brochures, etc., designed to encourage parents to work with their children and describe activities to use
- Group training sessions and workshops put on by sponsors or staff to train parents in home activities
- Individual training for parents provided by project staff either in the school or in parents homes

Because of the nature of the activities provided in this area, accurate counts of numbers of parents participating were difficult to obtain at many sites. Some sites could only provide counts of parents that were participating at the time of the site visit; others provided totals for the year. Consequently,

the numbers reported in Table 6-10 range widely, from two or three at Charles to over 100 in Silvertown. Further, these numbers do not necessarily reflect the intensity of an individual parent's participation in this area. Some sites involved a few parents in extended training and consultation efforts, while others with more participation involved parents on a one-time basis.

AMONG SITES THAT DID INVOLVE PARENTS, THERE APPEAR TO BE TWO PATTERNS OF ACTIVITY IN THIS AREA: FIVE SITES HAD FORMAL PROGRAMS TO INVOLVE AND TRAIN PARENTS; FIVE OTHER SITES PROVIDED ACTIVITIES ON A LESS FORMAL BASIS

The data summarized in Table 6-10 suggest that five sites (Point, Serenity, Silvertown, Westland, and Woodville) had programs that were more formally organized than those at the other sites. These more formal programs all combined four features: (1) specific staff members were assigned responsibility for managing and coordinating all home teaching activities; (2) defined academic programs were tailored to meet each child's individual needs; (3) training was provided to parents on an individual basis in activities or materials that the parent could use to meet their child's specific needs; and (4) regular monitoring of participating parents was performed by teachers or project staff.

Two sites, Westland and Silvertown, illustrate distinct manifestations of these basic features.

The Silvertown Program

Parent Child Learning Centers were established by the Silvertown PAC in Follow Through schools after several PAC members observed similar centers during a visit to another Follow Through site. Each center contains a variety of educational materials and is manned by a Follow Through paraprofessional. To publicize the availability of the facilities the project holds open houses at each center twice a year; refreshments are served and parents are shown the range of materials, games, etc., that are available to them. However, actual

referrals are done by teachers, who identify children with particular needs and write a "prescription" to the parent indicating a particular activity from which the child would benefit. The parent then takes this prescription to the center, where it is "filled" by the center's aide, who helps the parent select a suitable material and provides training in its use. The child's progress is monitored by the prescribing teacher.

The Westland Program

The Westland program also begins with the diagnosis by a classroom teacher who identifies needs of individual children. This diagnosis is then communicated to the Home-School Coordinator who contacts parents, asking them to work with their child at home for 15 to 20 minutes a day for ten weeks. Materials and activities are assembled by the Parent Coordinator in accordance with the teacher's recommendations. The Coordinator then visits the family at home and instructs them in the use of materials. This first visit is followed by weekly home visits by the Parent Coordinator to monitor the parent's progress. At the end of the ten-week period the teacher determines whether or not the home instruction should be continued.

Although somewhat different in approach, both sites had specific individuals assigned to coordinate and implement activities in this component; Silvertown relied on the aides assigned to each learning center while Westland concentrated all responsibility in the Parent Coordinator. Both sites also provided individualized training for parents, with the Parent Coordinator in Westland visiting the homes and parents in Silvertown coming to the centers for instruction. In both cases, the home teaching component was linked to classroom instruction with teachers prescribing specific activities and monitoring student progress in the identified academic areas. (Not all programs were so closely coordinated with the classroom, however; in Point, the entire home teaching component functioned essentially independently of the classroom teacher, with aides and parents working together to design and monitor a series of home teaching activities.)

While these five sites represent the most organized and intensive programs to involve parents in teaching their children at home, five other sites provided materials and/or workshops designed to encourage greater participation by parents in home teaching. Activities at these sites (Charles, Compass, Golden, Johns, and Vale) were less intensive and less individualized than those at the sites with formal programs. Frequently, activities were limited to occasional workshops for parents, sometimes conducted by the sponsor, in which parents were told about the educational approach used in the classroom and encouraged to work with their children on activities to reinforce the classroom instruction. These workshops were sometimes supplemented by materials or handbooks distributed or made available to interested parents. Staff in Vale, for example, prepared a Home Teaching Handbook for all parents that outlined activities that could be pursued in the home and made the project's microcomputer available for parents to check out and use at home. Workshops were provided to familiarize parents with both the computer and the handbooks.

There generally was little coordination between children's classroom activities and home teaching activities in these less formalized programs; interested parents simply attended workshops and checked out materials with little coordination or follow-up by the classroom teacher.

DISCUSSION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS TEACHERS OF THEIR OWN CHILDREN AT HOME

To summarize, most of the Follow Through sites visited provided some activities and materials to involve parents in teaching their children at home. Further, these activities appeared to occur in two ways: either as part of a formalized home teaching component that included staff coordination, individualized training for parents, development of specific academic programs for participating children, and monitoring; or, as part of a less formal collection of workshops and materials distributed to interested parents. Again, these major findings suggest certain questions: Why did some sites develop formal home

teaching programs or activities, when others did not? Once they had a program, what factors facilitated or hindered the efforts of sites to involve parents in teaching their children at home?

WHY DID SITES DEVELOP PROGRAMS?

The simplest answer to this question is that sites developed formal or informal home teaching programs because they wanted to. Unlike parental involvement in governance or parental involvement in the classroom, home teaching programs or activities generally filled a void at sites. Creating a home teaching component did not require changing or displacing preexisting practices or programs at sites; consequently, there generally were not many obstacles to beginning a home teaching component once the decision had been made to proceed. Sites that did not have a component generally either had not chosen to (the regulations, after all, do not require one) or had implemented one and abandoned it because they could not get parents to participate.

This simple answer does not, of course, consider what factors caused sites to want a component. The data suggest that there are a number of motivations, but the two most important were the sponsor and the attitudes of key project staff members (and, in some cases, key parents).

Although most sponsors advocate parental involvement in home teaching, only some actively promote activities in this regard at sites. All of the sites with the more formal and comprehensive home teaching components did so with the urging and assistance of their sponsor representative. This factor was most pronounced at Point, where the sponsor's model was primarily concerned with fostering home teaching, rather than changing classroom instruction. However, sponsors at other sites were similarly instrumental in the organization and operation of home teaching activities. Silvertown's parent-child learning centers resulted from a sponsor workshop/visitation to another Follow Through site that was implementing the same model. The sponsor

at Compass actually conducted the workshops for parents to describe the educational approach and outline possible home activities that reinforce the approach.

The second key factor, as it has been in earlier discussions, was the attitude of individual staff members at the sites. Again, sites with key staff who wanted a home teaching program generally had one, with or without the sponsor's help. Woodville's program, for example, existed because the Follow Through Parent Coordinators also doubled as the school's Right-to-Read teachers; these teachers consequently incorporated home teaching in reading into their ongoing parent involvement activities. Similarly, at Silvertown, it was a core group of committed parents, enthused by what they saw at another Follow Through site, who made it possible for there to be a home teaching component at their own site--even going as far as funding Parent-Child Learning Centers out of their own budget.

Interestingly, there was little mention in any site data of resistance to parent instruction from teachers, even when the home teaching program required some participation by teachers in the selection or monitoring of children. On the contrary, the data suggest that teachers were in general quite supportive of activities to encourage home teaching. Although the data do not demonstrate this, we might speculate that the reason for this lack of resistance among teachers was again that home teaching programs filled a void, supplementing rather than supplanting existing classroom practice.

WHAT FACTORS FACILITATED OR HINDERED SITES EFFORTS TO INVOLVE PARENTS IN HOME TEACHING ACTIVITIES?

Although data from the Site Study on this question were sparse, the two most frequently mentioned obstacles to involving parents in home teaching programs or activities were: (1) low education level of Follow Through parents that made it difficult for them to participate effectively as home tutors and (2) general discomfort felt by many Follow Through parents about coming to the

school. In contrast, the keys to the success of certain sites at involving parents in home teaching were the practices that they employed to overcome these two obstacles.

Thus, for example, the sites with most extensive involvement provided extensive and individualized training for parents to prepare them for working with children on school subjects. Initial contacts were sometimes followed up by regular visits by the Parent Coordinator or resource center aide to verify that the parent was in fact implementing activities properly. Further, recognizing that many parents were not comfortable in schools, several sites relied on home visits by project staff rather than asking parents to come to the school. Sites that did ask parents to come to the school often had extensive promotional activities designed to attract parents, or provided initial orientation sessions to familiarize parents with the project's offerings.

The data, in other words, suggest that the obstacles, while real, are not insurmountable. Sites were able to attract and train parents to work with their children at home.

OUTCOMES FROM PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS HOME TEACHERS

Our data from sites regarding outcomes in this area were limited and confined to anecdotal reports from participating parents and staff. However, these reports suggest two principal outcomes from involving parents in teaching their own children at home. First, and most importantly, parents and teachers said that this form of parental involvement resulted in real benefits for the children. By helping their children at home, parents were able to reinforce concepts taught at school and tutor their children in areas of need. According to many respondents, this tutoring helped the children to perform better in the classroom.

The second outcome encountered in the data involved parents and their relationship to the schools. By participating in the home teaching program, parents who once felt alienated from and uncomfortable in the school came to better understand what occurred in their children's classrooms. This understanding in turn translated on occasion to other forms of support for the Follow Through project.

V. CONCLUSIONS

As the preceding discussions have shown, parents were involved to a large extent in the Follow Through instructional process, either as aides, volunteers, or through home teaching activities. Following the practice established in the last chapter, we will in this section consider some of the implications of these findings for those wishing to encourage parental participation in the education process.

PARENTS AS CLASSROOM AIDES

The data showed that most sites gave parents priority when hiring aides and provided aides with a substantial role in the classroom. However, relatively few of the classroom aides were parents of current children served by Follow Through; many more were parents of former children. This finding presents something of a dilemma to anyone interested in increasing parental involvement in the classroom. On the one hand, the turnover rate among Follow Through aides can be seen as an advantage, since it indicates stability in the aide positions--stability that site personnel insisted was beneficial because it resulted in highly trained and experienced personnel in the classroom. However, this low turnover (combined with a steady decline in funding for aide positions) also meant that current Follow Through parents could not become aides. The resolution to this dilemma depends, of course, on how highly one values the presence of current parents among aides. One could imagine a program in which aides were forced to resign when their children graduated from the Follow Through program. Although this policy would ensure current parents in the classroom, it would not be without costs, both instructional (considering the time and energy required to train an aide) and humanitarian (considering the high unemployment rate in many of the communities served by Follow Through). Even ignoring these costs, the increasing professionalization of aides in many districts and the web of district policies relating to classroom aides make it questionable whether such a policy of mandatory retirement could ever be imposed successfully.

Another possible solution to the dilemma suggested by the data might be to create short-term stipended positions, such as the Parent Trainees found at several sites. These positions would be open only to parents and would be filled on a rotating basis for periods of perhaps eight to 16 weeks. Several sites found that this was one way to ensure a parental presence in the classroom without tampering with district policies for paraprofessionals.

A final implication of Site Study findings for classroom aide programs was the value of extensive and ongoing training, if one wants aides to play a substantial instructional role in the classroom. Follow Through aides generally played a major role in the classroom, frequently acting more as "co-teachers" than assistants. Although longevity was certainly an important reason for this, respondents also said that extensive training contributed greatly to the aides' role in the school. The most frequent objection to parent aides encountered among teachers was that they were untrained and unqualified to be teaching children; the data suggest that regular training provided by the project could do much to remove this concern.

PARENTS AS CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS

The Site Study findings would seem to suggest several implications for those interested in stimulating both a more extensive volunteer presence in the classroom and in creating a more substantial instructional role for those parents who do volunteer.

Perhaps the most compelling implication suggested by our data is that a successful volunteer program requires centralized coordination both in the recruitment and training of volunteers. Teachers are simply too busy to recruit and train parents to work in their classrooms; a more organized effort on the part of project staff is necessary. The data further suggest that successful volunteer programs generally included vigorous recruitment procedures that used personal contact with individual parents urging them to

volunteer. Similarly, successful volunteer programs often made a deliberate attempt to provide a range of volunteer activities and then match these activities with the interests of individual parents.

Another implication suggested by the Site Study findings was that projects interested in attracting parents as volunteers need to provide incentives and rewards that both make it easier to come to the school (e.g., transportation, child care, meals) and that make volunteers feel both welcome and needed. One of the reasons most frequently mentioned by parents for not participating at school was a sense of discomfort and alienation from the school. The data suggest that sites can overcome this reluctance by providing volunteer luncheons, by awarding certificates of appreciation, etc., thus demonstrating to parents that their volunteer time is appreciated.

The Site Study data regarding volunteers, like the data for aides, suggest the value of training in achieving acceptance by teachers and a substantive instructional role in the classroom for volunteers. As mentioned earlier, this training should be centralized (perhaps provided by the staff trainer) and ongoing. Several sites also noted the value of training for teachers on how to use volunteers effectively.

PARENTS AS TEACHERS OF THEIR OWN CHILDREN AT HOME

The Site Study revealed a variety of approaches to involving parents as teachers of their own children at home. Though varied, the more successful programs did share some common features that could be emulated by those wishing increased parent participation as teachers in the home. First, as with volunteer programs, the data suggest that centralized responsibility is an important ingredient in a successful home teaching program. One person or a defined group of individuals should be responsible for the recruitment and operation of a project's home teaching program. Second, some form of individualized instruction should be provided for participating parents. Some sites did rely exclusively on group workshops or printed handbooks, but the

sites with the most active home teaching programs invariably worked closely with individual parents advising them on what they could do with their children at home.

Third, related to the preceding point, the most successful approach to home teaching programs appears to involve developing defined academic programs for each child that the parent can follow at home. Preferably, these defined programs would be tied to classroom activities and performance with the active participation of the classroom teacher. Frequently, site home teaching activities began with a diagnosis by the classroom teacher of the particular needs of a child. These needs were then communicated to the parent by the responsible staff person who trained parents in the specific activities, games, or materials that they might use to meet their child's needs.

Finally, successful home teaching programs seemed generally to include some monitoring of the child's and/or parent's progress. Frequently, this monitoring was limited to the classroom teacher attending to the child's performance. Occasionally, though, it extended to regular home visits by project staff to verify that the parent was carrying out the prescribed activities properly.

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HDDPER	JOHNS CO.	LINCOLN
ARE PARENTS GIVEN PRIORITY IN HIRING AIDES?		Aides: No PT: Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No - but they once were	Aides: No PT: Yes	Yes	No
NO PARENTS AS AIDES	NO. AIDES	Aides: 11 PT: NO	14	20	23	17	Aides: 11 PT: 8	17 17	15
	NO. CURRENT FT PARENTS	Aides: 0 PT: NO	8 (58%)	9 (45%)	14 (61%)	5 (29%)	Aides: 0 PT: 8 (100%)	0	9 (60%)
	NO. FORMER FT PARENTS	Aides: 2 (18%) PT: NO	5 (36%)	11 (55%)	0	5 (29%)	Aides: 2 (18%) PT: 0	17 (100%)	0
RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES		Posting in district office (Aides) Notices sent home (PT) Personal contact (PT) Informal network	Notices sent home	Notices sent home	Notices sent home Announcements at parent meeting Personal contact Informal network	Notices sent home Announcements at parent meetings Personal contact Informal network	Posting in district office (Aides) Notices sent home (PT) Announcements at parent meetings (PT)	Posting in district office Notices sent home Announcements at parent meetings Personal contact	Posting in district office Informal network
HIRING PROCEDURES	INFLUENTIAL PARTIES	Aides: Principal PT: NO	PAC, ST, PD	PAC Teachers	PD	District	Aide: NO PT: PC, PD	PAC, PD, Principal	PAC
	FINAL AUTHORITY	Aide: District PT: NO	Project Director	Principal, District	PD, Principal	District	Aide: District PT: PD	District	School
HIRING CRITERIA		Aide: High School diploma Seniority PT: No Data	Functional literacy	Experience with FT High School desired	AA Degree	High School diploma	Aide: High School diploma Seniority PT: No Data	High School diploma Functional literacy Low income	Low income

LEGEND:

KEY PERSONS

PT = Parent Trainees (also called "rotating aides")
PAC = Policy Advisory Committee
PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
ST = Staff Trainer
NO = No Data

Table 6-1. Opportunities for Parents to Become Aides

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVER-TOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
ARE FT PARENTS GIVEN PRIORITY?		Aides: Yes PT: Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No, but they once were	Aides: No PT: Yes	No, but they once were	Yes
NO. PARENTS AS AIDES	TOTAL NO. AIDES	Aides: 13 PT: 5	10	17	8	8	Aides: 10 PT: ND	15	15
	NO. CURRENT FT PARENTS	Aides: 5 (38%) PT: 5	1 (10%)	16 (89%)	4 (50%)	1 (12%)	Aides: 1 (10%) PT: 100%	2 (13%)	6 (40%)
	NO. FORMER FT PARENTS	Aides: 5 (38%) PT: 0	3 (30%)	1 (5%)	4 (50%)	3 (38%)	Aides: 0 PT: ND	5 (33%)	9 (60%)
RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES		Posting in district office Notices sent home Personal contact	Posting in district office Informal network	Announcements at parent meeting Personal contact	No data	Posted in school Informal network	Posting in district (Aide) Posted in school (PT) Announcements at parent meeting (PT)	Notices sent home Informal network	Posted in school Notices sent home Announcements at parent meeting
HIRING PROCEDURES	INFLUENTIAL PARTIES	PAC, PD	Principal	PAC, PC, PD	Teacher, Principal	PD, Principal	Aide: No data PT: PC	PAC, PD, Teacher, Principal	PAC, PD, Teacher
	FINAL AUTHORITY	District	District	PD, PC	Principal	District	Aide: District PT: No data	Teacher	PD, Principal
HIRING CRITERIA		Experience with FT/ Aides: experience as PT	High School diploma Seniority	High School diploma Undergo training	No data	High School diploma Low income	Aide: High School diploma Undergo training PT: No data	Experience with FT	Experience with FT High School diploma

LEGEND:

KEY PERSONS

- PT = Parent Trainees (also called "rotating aides")
 PAC = Policy Advisory Committee
 PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 ST = Staff Trainer
 ND = No data

Table 6 -1. Opportunities for Parents to Become Aides (Continued)

		CHARLES	C CLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
PARENTS*	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	92%	100%	100%	100%	100%	89%	89%
	AGE: 20 - 30 31 - 40 41+	0 100% 0	0 70% 30%	0 80% 20%	19% 57% 29%	No data	No data	59% 30% 12%	67% 22% 11%
	ETHNICITY	B: 100%	B: 100%	B: 100%	W: 71% H: 7% NA: 21%	B: 100%	B: 80% H: 20%	W: 6% B: 70% H: 24%	W: 25% NA: 75%
	EDUCATION	HS: 100%	<HS: 100%	HS: 80% C: 20%	<HS: 14% HS: 64% C: 21%	No data	HS: 100%	C: 100%	HS: 100%
NON-PARENTS	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	100%	**	100%	100%	100%	**	83%
	AGE: 20 - 30 31 - 40 41+	0 100% 0	0 100% 0	**	33% 44% 22%	No data	No data	**	50% 0 50%
	ETHNICITY	B: 100%	B: 100%	**	W: 100%	B: 100%	B: 45% H: 55%	**	W: 66% NA: 33%
	EDUCATION	HS: 100%	<HS: 100%	**	HS: 33% C: 67%	No data	HS: 100%	**	HS: 100%

LEGEND:

- * = Includes all current and former parents
- ** = All aides are current or former parents.

ETHNICITY

B = Black
H = Hispanic
W = White
NA = Native American

EDUCATION

<HS = Less than High School
HS = High School diploma
C = College

Table 6-2. Characteristics of Paid Aides

		MINEBURG (AIDES & PTs)	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WODDVILLE
PARENTS*	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	92%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	AGE: 20 - 30 31 - 40 41+	39% 39% 22%	40% 35% 25%	60% 40% 0	25% 50% 25%	25% 25% 50%	100%	No data	13% 40% 47%
	ETHNICITY	W: 75% B: 25%	B: 100%	B: 30% W: 70%	B: 62% W: 38%	B: 100%	B: 100%	W: 86% NA: 14%	W: 100%
	EDUCATION	<HS: 38% HS: 50% C: 12%	HS: 100%	HS: 100%	HS: 88% C: 12%	HS: 75% C: 25%	HS: 100%	HS: 100%	HS: 60% C: 40%
NON-PARENTS	SEX: % FEMALE	100%	100%	**	**	100%	100%	100%	**
	AGE: 20 - 30 31 - 40 41+	No data	0 0 100%	**	**	25% 50% 25%	0 0 100%	No data	**
	ETHNICITY	W: 100%	B: 100%	**	**	B: 25% W: 75%	B: 100%	W: 87% NA: 13%	**
	EDUCATION	HS: 100%	HS: 100%	**	**	<HS: 25% HS: 75%	HS: 100%	HS: 100%	**

LEGEND

- * = Includes all current and former parents
- ** = All aides are current or former parents.

ETHNICITY

B = Black
H = Hispanic
W = White
NA = Native American

EDUCATION

<HS = Less than High School
HS = High School diploma
C = College

Table 6-2. Characteristics of Paid Aides (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
YEARS IN STUDY SCHOOLS.		10+	10+	10+	10+	6-10	10+	6-10	10+
FUNDING	SOURCE	FOLLOW THROUGH	●	●	●	●	● (PT)	●	●
		STATE/DISTRICT	●						
		OTHER FEDERAL	●	●			● (Aide)	●	
		CHANGES/ CONSEQUENCES	No data	Decreased/No rotating aides, less training	Decreased/ Fewer aides, no new hires	Decreased/Reduced working hours; fewer aides	No data	Decreased/Reduced working hours	No data
KEY PERSONNEL ROLES	PROJECT DIRECTOR	Train Evaluate	No direct involvement	No direct involvement	Select Monitor	Select Monitor	Select (PT) Monitor (PT)	Recruit	Select
	PRINCIPALS	Select Monitor	No direct involvement	No direct involvement	Select Evaluate	Evaluate	No data	No direct involvement	Select
	PARENT COORDINATOR	No data	Select Coordinate Liaison	No data	No data	Select	Select (PT); Train (PT) Monitor (PT)	Recruit	Select
	STAFF TRAINER	Train Evaluate	Select Train Monitor Evaluate	Train Monitor	N/A	Train	Select (PT) Train (PT) Monitor (PT)	Train Monitor	N/A
	TEACHERS	Monitor	Plan activities Monitor	Select Monitor	Monitor	Monitor	Monitor	Monitor	Select Plan activities
DEGREE OF DISTINCTION	PARENT/NON- PARENT	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
	FOLLOW THROUGH/ NON-FT	Aide None PT FT only	Separate	No data	Separate	N/A	Aide: None PT FT only	Separate	Separate
MONITORING OF AIDES		Every 2 weeks	Informal (ST)	Regularly (ST, T, PR)	Ongoing (T)	Ongoing (ST)	Ongoing (T)	Ongoing (ST, T)	Occasional (PD, PR)
FORMAL EVALUATION OF AIDES		None	Annually by sponsor, 2/yr by ST	None	Annually	Annually	PT during training	Monthly	None

LEGEND

STAFF

PT = Parent Trainees
ST = Staff Trainer
T = Teacher
PR = Principal
PD = Project Director

FUNDING

● = This source is used in funding PP component

Table 6-3. Structure and Organization of the Aide Component

			MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
YEARS IN STUDY SCHOOLS			1-5	10+	1-5	10+	1-5	10+	6-10	No data
FUNDING	SOURCE	FOLLOW THROUGH	●	●	●		●	● (PT)	●	●
		STATE/DISTRICT		●	●	●		● (Aides)		
		OTHER FEDERAL						●		
	CHANGES/ CONSEQUENCES		Decreased/ Fewer aides	No data	Decreased/ Fewer aides	Change to state-funding of aides	No data	Decreased/ Fewer aides and PTs	Decreased/ Fewer aides	None
KEY PERSONNEL ROLES	PROJECT DIRECTOR		Train	Select Evaluate	Select	None	Select	Select	Select	Select
	PRINCIPALS		None	Select	Select Evaluate	Select Monitor	Select Monitor	Monitor	Select Monitor Evaluate	Select
	PARENT COORDINATOR		Select	No data	Select Train	No data	Select Train	Select Liaison	Select	No data
	STAFF TRAINER		Train Monitor Evaluate	No data	N/A	No data	Liaison	Train Monitor	Train Liaison	Train
	TEACHERS		Monitor	None	Monitor Evaluate	Select Monitor Evaluate	Monitor Plan activities	Monitor Plan activities	Select Monitor Evaluate	Select Monitor
DEGREE OF DISTINCTION	PARENT/NON-PARENT		None	None	N/A	None	None	None	None	N/A
	FOLLOW THROUGH/ NON-FT		Separate	Separate	Separate	No data	Separate	Aides: None PT: FT only	Separate	N/A
MONITORING OF AIDES			Ongoing (ST, T)	Ongoing (ST)	Ongoing (T)	Ongoing (T)	Ongoing (T)	PT: Weekly (ST or PO)	Ongoing (T, PO)	Ongoing (T, PO, PR)
FORMAL EVALUATION OF AIDES			Two per year	No data	Two per year	Annual	None	No data	Two per year	Annual

LEGEND:

STAFF

PT = Parent Trainee
ST = Staff Trainer
T = Teacher
PR = Principal
PD = Project Director

FUNDING

● = This source is used in funding PP component.

Table 6 -3. Structure and Organization of the Aide Component (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES	PLAN LESSONS	•	•			•	•		
	PRESENT CONCEPTS	•					•		•
	REINFORCE SKILLS	•		•		•		•	•
	MAKE MATERIALS		•	•	•	•	•		
	CREATE TESTS		•						
	MONITOR CHILD PROGRESS	•			•	•	•	•	
	DISCIPLINE	•	•		•			•	
	CLERICAL	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
STUDENT GROUPINGS		Individual Small group Whole class	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group
NON-INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES		Attend PAC (PT) Parent Conference (Aide) Lunchroom monitor	Attend PAC Hall, lunchroom monitor	Informal liaison with parents Field trips		Lunchroom, playground monitor	Lunchroom monitor	Informal liaison with parents Lunchroom, playground monitor	Playground monitor
DECISION MAKING OPPORTUNITY	CLASSROOM	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
	PROJECT/SCHOOL	Yes (PT on PAC)	Yes (Faculty mtg)	No	No	No	No	Yes	No

LEGEND:

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

• = Aide participates in this activity

PT = Parent Trainees

Table 6-4. Functioning of the Aide Component

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		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES	PLAN LESSONS	•		•	•	•	•	•	
	PRESENT CONCEPTS	•			•	•			
	REINFORCE SKILLS	•	•	•	•	•		•	•
	MAKE MATERIALS		•			•		•	
	CREATE TESTS					•			
	MONITOR CHILD PROGRESS	•		•	•	•	•	•	•
	DISCIPLINE	•		•	•	•		•	
	CLERICAL	•	•	•	•	•	No data	•	•
STUDENT GROUPINGS		Small group	Individual	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group	Individual Small group
NON-INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES		PAC members Home visits Lunchroom, playground monitor	Home visits	Lunchroom, playground monitor	Lunchroom, playground monitor Field trips	Monitor parental involve- ment	Lunchroom, playground monitor	Lunchroom monitor	Lunchroom, playground monitor
DECISION MAKING OPPORTUNITY	CLASSROOM	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No data	Yes	No
	PROJECT/SCHOOL	Yes (PAC, Faculty meeting)	No	No	No	No	No	Yes (PAC, Faculty meeting)	Yes (Faculty meeting)

LEGEND:

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

- = Aide participates in this activity

Table 6-4. Functioning of the Aide Component (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HODPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
COMMUNICATION	AIDE-AIDE	Informal only	Informal only	Informal only	Weekly staff meeting	Informal only	Informal only	Informal only	Faculty meetings
	STAFF-AIDE	Within classroom	Memos Faculty meeting (few attend)	Regular meeting with teacher, within class	Weekly staff meeting, within classroom	Within classroom	Within classroom	Regular meeting between aides and staff	Faculty meetings
TRAINING	PRESERVICE	One week	One week	Conducted by sponsor	No data	Indiv. training by staff trainer	No data	None	3 days
	NO. SESSIONS	5 days in Sept. 1 hr./week	Monthly (1/2 day)	5	4/yr.	2/month Individually	AIDES: No data PT: 4 days	Monthly	1
	WHO ATTENDED?	Aides	Aides	Aides, teachers	No data	Aides	PTs	Aides, volunteers, parents	Aides
	WHO CONDUCTED?	Project Director, staff trainer	Sponsor, staff trainer	Teacher, sponsor	Sponsor	Staff trainer, teacher	Aides No data PT: Parent Coordinator	Staff trainer, consultants	School district, staff trainer
	TOPICS	No data	Math, reading, handwriting instruction Sponsor model	Teaching methods Language instruction Learning centers Making materials	No data	Teaching methods Learning centers Sponsor model Communication skills Working with teacher	Aides: No data PT: Sponsor model Handwriting, phonics, spelling	Classroom management Inst. materials Nutrition Home teaching	Policies and procedures Job description for aides Grievance procedure
CAREER DEVELOPMENT	NATURE OF SUPPORT	Referral/counseling	N/A	No data	Referral counseling	Tuition/fees Referral/counseling	Referral/counseling	Referral/counseling Tuition/fees Books/supplies	N/A
	SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING ASSI: FANCE FUNDS	No	—	No	No	\$11,000	No	\$12,000	—
	DEGREES OFFERED	GED, AA, BA	—	GED	GED	BA in education	GED, AA, BA	No data	—
	WHO PROVIDES	Local colleges	—	Local colleges	Local high school, college	Local state college	Local colleges	No data	—
	RESTRICTED TO AIDES?	No	—	No	No	Yes	No	No data	—
	BENEFITS	No data	—	No data	No data	Salary increase Job category change	No data	Salary increase Job advancement	—

LEGEND.

N/A = No Career Development Program

PT = Parent Trainees

DEGREES

GED = General Education Development

AA = 2 Year College Degree

BA = 4 Year College Degree

CDA = Child Development Associate

Table 6-5. Programmatic Support for the Aide Component

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIDLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
COMMUNICATION	AIDE-AIDE	Informed only	Weekly aide meeting	Informal only	Informal only	Informal only	No data	Informal only	Monthly aide meeting
	STAFF-AIDE	Team planning	Minor	Informal only	Informal only	Team planning meeting	Meeting with staff trainer	Faculty meeting	Faculty meeting FT meeting
TRAINING	PRESERVICE	One week	No data	One week training	No data	None	None	No data	No data
	NO. SESSIONS	3	Weekly	6 weeks	5	5	Bi-Monthly	4	10
	WHO ATTENDS	All Aides	Aides	Any parent	Aides, teachers	Aides, teachers, volunteers	No data	Aides	Aides, parent, teachers
	WHO CONDUCTED	Project Director Sponsor Staff Trainer	Staff Trainer Sponsor Parent Coordinator	FT Staff	Staff Trainer	FT Staff	Staff Trainer	Sponsor Project Director Staff Trainer	Sponsor Staff Trainer
	TOPICS	Sponsor model Reading and Match curriculum	Home interviewing How to work with teachers Learning centers Planning	Classroom management Reading and math curriculum	Book binding Story telling Reading instruction	Math instruction Classroom management Classroom activities	No data	FT philosophy Sponsor model Child develop- ment Reading instruction Classroom management	Sponsor model Communication skills
CAREER DEVELOPMENT	NATURE OF SUPPORT	Tuition/fees Books	Referral/ counseling	Tuition 1/2 Books	Tuition/fees Books/supplies	Tuition/fees Referral counseling	Record keeping Referral/ counseling	1/2 on 1/2 off	No data
	SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING ASSISTANCE FUNDS?	\$2600	No	\$1000	FT: \$5000 State: \$3000	\$8800	No	No	\$3000
	DEGREES OFFERED?	GED, BA	GED, AA, BA	GED, BA	No data	CDA, BA	GED, BA	GED, BA	GED, AA, BA
	WHO PROVIDES	Local state college	Local colleges	Local college	Community college	Local college, junior college	Local colleges	Local college	No data
	RESTRICTED TO AIDES?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No data
	BENEFITS	Salary increases Job category change	Salary increase Job category change	No data	Salary increase Job change	No data	No data	No data	No data

LEGEND:

NA = No career development program
PT = Parent Trainees

DEGREES

GED = General Education Development
AA = 2 Year College Degree
BA = 4 Year College Degree
CDA = Child Development Associate

Table 6-5. Programmatic Support for the Aide Component (Continued)

	CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
NUMBER OF CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS	1 - 2	None	21	1 - 2	1 - 3	None	1 - 3	None
RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES	None	—	PAC brochure PAC contacts parents Teachers recruit	None	None	—	None	—
ASSIGNMENT	N/A	—	School PAC Principal	N/A	N/A	—	N/A	—
COORDINATION	N/A	—	School PAC	N/A	N/A	—	N/A	—
MONITORING/EVALUATION OF VOLUNTEERS	N/A	—	Informal	N/A	N/A	—	N/A	—
CHANGES/COMMENTS	Site considers PTs as volun- teers	Site has non- classroom volunteers	Fewer volunteers now	Fewer since volunteer coordinator position eliminated	Fewer, once had extensive volun- teer program	Site considers PT as volunteers	Fewer	None

LEGEND.

STAFF

- PT = Parent Trainees
- PC = Parent Coordinator
- VC = Volunteer Coordinator
- PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

Table 6-6. Structure and Organization of Classroom Volunteer Components

	MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
NUMBER OF CLASSROOM VOLUNTEERS	None	None	30	10	7 - 10	None	175	9
RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES	None	—	Telephone and home visits (PC and aides) Announcement at PAC meetings Newsletter Sign-up at open house Conferences	Announcement at PTA, PAC meetings Newsletter	Fall survey of parents to indicate interests; School VC and teacher contact based on survey	—	Sign-up form sent home; PC contacts interested parents	Staff trainer contacts parents Newsletter Posted notices Notes sent home
ASSIGNMENT	N/A	—	Parent Coordinator (usually to child's class)	Child's class	Volunteer Coordinator or Teacher	—	Parent Coordinator (usually to child's class)	Staff Trainer
COORDINATION	N/A	—	Parent Coordinator	Staff Trainer	District VC School VC PC FT Social Worker	—	Parent Coordinator	Staff Trainer
MONITORING/EVALUATION OF VOLUNTEERS	N/A	—	Once, during training (teacher)	District volunteer evaluation form (teacher)	No data	—	Ongoing records of amount of service (Parent Coordinator)	Ongoing, informal (teacher)
CHANGES/COMMENTS	Site has extensive PT program that says parents in classroom	FT program does not emphasize classroom component	Fewer volunteers	Formal volunteer program new this year	More now as teachers and administrators see value of volunteers	Site has extensive PT program	More volunteers now, greater role in classroom; more minorities	First year for coordinated program

LEGEND.

STAFF

- PT = Parent Trainee
- PC = Parent Coordinator
- VC = Volunteer Coordinator
- PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

Table 6-6. Structure and Organization of Classroom Volunteer Components (Continued)

	COMPASS	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
SEX: % FEMALE	No Data	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
AGE: 20 - 30 31 - 40 41+	No Data	67% 33% 0	No Data	No Data	50% 50% 0	55% 45% 0
ETHNICITY	No Data	W: 50% B: 50%	W: 40% B: 60%	W: 75% B: 25%	No Data	W: 100%
EDUCATION	No Data	<HS: 16% HS: 84%	<HS: 10% HS: 70% C: 20%	No Data	No Data	<HS: 22% HS: 78%

LEGEND

ETHNICITY

W = White
B = Black

EDUCATION

<HS = Less Than High School Diploma
HS = High School Diploma
C = College

Table 6-7. Characteristics of Classroom Volunteers

		COMPASS	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES*	PLAN LESSONS						
	PRESENT CONCEPTS					•	
	REINFORCE SKILLS	•	•	•	•	•	•
	MAKE MATERIALS	•			•	•	
	CREATE TESTS						
	MONITOR CHILD PROGRESS		•				
	DISCIPLINE						
	CLERICAL	•	•		•	•	
STUDENT GROUPINGS		Individual	Individual	Individual Small group	Individual	Individual Small group	Small group
OTHER ACTIVITIES		None	Working with own child	Field trips	Resource speaker	Resource speaker Field trips Teach music	Tutor outside class Field trips
PARTICIPATE IN DECISIONS?		No	No	No	No	Special events	Special events

*Roles varied within sites, entries indicate most commonly reported roles

LEGEND:

CLASSROOM RESPONSIBILITIES

• = Volunteers Participate in this Activity

Table 6-8. Role of Classroom Volunteers

		COMPASS	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
TRAINING: VOLUNTEERS	WHO ATTENDS	No Data	Volunteers, Teachers, Aides	Volunteers	Volunteers	Volunteers	Volunteers
	WHO PROVIDES	No Data	Parent Coordinator	Teacher Staff Trainer	Parent Coordinator Staff Trainer	Staff Trainer	Parent Coordinator
	NO. SESSIONS	No Data	6	2	No Data	4* (discontinued in 1979)	Weekly
	TOPICS	No Data	Sponsc. model Classroom management	Teaching skills FT Regulations Ethics	No Data	Teaching skills Classroom management Ethics	Teaching skills Classroom management
TRAINING: STAFF	WHO ATTENDS	No Data	Teachers	None	Teachers	Teachers, Aides	None
	WHO PROVIDES	No Data	FT Staff	None	District Volunteer Coordinator Parent Coordinator	No Data	None
	NO. SESSIONS	No Data	4	None	2 1/2 weeks in summer	1	None
	TOPICS	No Data	Working with volunteers	None	Working with volunteers	Working with volunteers	None
SUPPORT SERVICES		None Mentioned	Transportation Babysitting	None	District Volunteer Newsletter	None	None
REWARDS, INCENTIVES		Annual Awards Luncheon	None	None	Teas with superintendent School awards	Volunteer teas "Volunteers' week"	None

Table 6-9. Programmatic Support for Classroom Volunteer Components

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS CO.	LINCOLN
NUMBER OF PARENTS		2-3	None	No Data	None	No Data	None	No Data	None
COORDINATION		Project Director	---	---	---	Home Tutor Aide	---	Staff Trainer	---
OTHER KEY STAFF		None	---	Sponsor	---	---	---	---	---
DEFINED ACADEMIC PROGRAM?		No	---	No	---	No	---	No	---
TYPES OF ASSISTANCE	WORKSHOPS	None	---	2/Year (Sponsor)	---	2/Year	---	Monthly	---
	INDIVIDUAL TRAINING: STAFF/LOCATION	Project Director	---	---	---	Resource room	---	---	---
	WORKBOOK, GAMES, MATERIALS	Materials on Learning Disabilities	---	---	---	Resource Room	---	Math, Reading Study Guides	---
RECRUITMENT/ SELECTION		Self selection	---	Self selection	---	Self selection	---	Self selection	---
MONITORING/ EVALUATION		None	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

LEGEND:

None = No Home Teaching Activities

PC = Parent Coordinator

Table 6-10. Parents as Teachers of Their Own Children

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
NUMBER OF PARENTS		None	100	9	100+	No Data	None	12 at time of data collection	16+
COORDINATION		---	Staff Trainer	Parent Coordinator	Home Tutor Aides	Parent Coordinator	---	Parent Coordinator	Parent Coordinator
OTHER KEY STAFF		---	Aides, PC	Aides	PAC	---	---	None	None
DEFINED ACADEMIC PROGRAM?		---	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	---	Yes	Yes (Reading only)
TYPES OF ACTIVITIES	WORKSHOPS	---	---	---	Orientation 3/year	1/year	---	None	None
	INDIVIDUAL TRAINING: STAFF/LOCATION	---	Aide/Home visits	Aide/Home visits	Aide Resource center	None	---	Parent Coordinator/ Home visits (weekly)	Parent Coordinator/ Home visits
	WORKBOOK, GAMES, MATERIALS	---	Created by aides, parents	Yes	Resource center in each FT school	Home teaching handbook Computer	---	Yes	Resource room (Reading only)
RECRUITMENT/ SELECTION		---	Self selection PC contacts	Teacher recommends based on needs Self selection	Teacher writes "prescription" for parent to fill in center	Teacher diagnoses need Self selection	---	Teacher diagnoses need, refers to PC	Teacher diagnoses reading problem
MONITORING/ EVALUATION		---	Staff Trainer follows-up on home visits	Teacher	Teacher Home Tutor Aide	---	---	Parent Coordinator (weekly)	Teacher

LEGEND:

None = No Home Teaching Activities

PC = Parent Coordinator

Table 6-10. Parents as Teachers of Their Own Children (Continued)

CHAPTER 7

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN PARENT EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the third aspect of parental involvement investigated in the Site Study--Parent Education. Individual sites often had their own definition of the training or educational activities that they included within a "Parent Education" project component; to avoid confusion, this chapter will only consider two types of activities: (1) activities that enrich parents' skills to help them function better in the home or community; and (2) activities referred to in the Follow Through regulations as "Career Development." This discussion therefore excludes activities described in earlier chapters, such as training for PAC members on how to function as a PAC, training for classroom aides or volunteers on skills directly related to their classroom role, or training for parents on how to teach their children at home.

This chapter consists of four major parts. Part I again introduces the function area, outlines the Follow Through regulations pertaining to parent education, and summarizes the major Site Study findings. Part II presents the study findings and is itself divided into two sections corresponding to the two aspects of parent education described above (parent enrichment and career development). Part III continues the practice established in the preceding chapters of discussing the causes and consequences of parent involvement in this function area. Finally, Part IV reflects on some of the implications of the Site Study programs for national and local decision makers interested in maximizing involvement in parent education.

PARENT EDUCATION: THE FOLLOW THROUGH REGULATIONS

Both parent enrichment and career development are mentioned in the Follow Through regulations, with considerable emphasis given to both. Two of the eight components outlined for the Follow Through program relate directly to parent education, and other requirements are sprinkled throughout descriptions of the remaining six components.

With respect to parent enrichment, each project is required to establish a "parent and community involvement" component that, among other things, should provide for parental participation in educational and community activities developed through other program components. These other components require that projects: (1) provide health education to parents; (2) inform parents of available community social services; (3) assist parents in understanding the psychological development of children; and (4) educate parents about the principles of nutrition.

The regulations also require that each project establish a "career development" component for paraprofessional and non-professional staff. This component should be supervised by the Career Development Subcommittee of the PAC and should have four features: (1) implementation of a career development plan for providing increases in both salary and responsibility on the basis of

job experience, academic background and other relevant factors; (2) provision for guidance and counseling in career development; (3) provision of supplementary training;* and (4) provision of other educational opportunities through such means as high school equivalency programs and vocational training programs.

For a while during the early 1970's, the national Follow Through office made funds available to local projects in the form of supplementary training grants that projects could use to provide technical or financial assistance to aides or (at some sites) all parents for obtaining GEDs, AAs or BAs/BSs in education. This grant program, however, is being phased out.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Two major findings emerged regarding each aspect of parent education programs:

Parent Enrichment

- Parent enrichment activities were widespread; 14 sites provided at least some training to parents in four areas: parenting skills; community awareness; home skills/crafts; and health and nutrition.
- Parents played an important role in determining the direction and scope of parent enrichment activities.

Career Development

- Career development programs were widespread; 14 sites provided at least some support to the career development of parents and aides.

*"Supplementary Training" is defined in the regulations as "the training of paraprofessionals and non-professionals in programs leading to college-level degrees, particularly in the field of early childhood education."

- Very few sites had PAC Career Development Committees actively supervising their career development program.

These major findings are discussed further in the sections that follow.

II. SITE STUDY FINDINGS: PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Because the regulations and projects differentiate between the two aspects of parent education, the following presentation is divided into two sections. The first presents the principal findings relating to what we have called "parent enrichment" (i.e., training for parents in home skills, parenting, preventative health, or community awareness); the second summarizes the findings relating to "Career Development" (i.e., support or training provided to paraprofessionals to further their careers).

PARENT ENRICHMENT

Table 7-1 summarizes the data from the 16 Site Study sites regarding the nature and organization of services provided by projects to instruct parents in a variety of areas outlined in the regulations. As in the investigation of classroom volunteers, certain kinds of data about parent enrichment activities sponsored by sites were difficult to collect accurately because of vagaries in project record keeping. Data about participants were especially difficult to collect, so the information reported in the table represents the respondents' best estimates of the number and characteristics of participating parents. Despite the unevenness of the data, certain patterns do emerge (see Table 7-1) and are discussed below.

PARENT ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES WERE WIDESPREAD: 14 SITES PROVIDED AT LEAST SOME TRAINING ON PARENTING, COMMUNITY AWARENESS, HOME SKILLS, OR HEALTH/NUTRITION

As Table 7-1 illustrates, parent enrichment was widespread, and only two sites (Lincoln and Circle City) failed to provide at least some training activities for parents. The actual topics addressed in these workshops fell into four broad categories:

- Parenting skills. Actual workshop topics range from Parent Effectiveness Training to children's emotional development and how to discipline in the home.

- Community awareness. Training designed to familiarize parents with agencies and services in the community. Training often included field trips to local agencies and distribution of community "resource guides."
- Home skills/crafts. Training in particular skills useful in the home, such as ceramics, upholstering, woodworking, furniture repair, sewing, and gardening. Several sites supplemented workshops with individualized instruction provided in the parent room.
- Health/nutrition. Training in preventative health practices, exercise, cooking, and nutrition.

In general, parent enrichment activities were open to all parents at the sites studied. Frequently, workshops in these areas would be included as part of an open PAC meeting to attract more parents to the PAC. The attractiveness of these training activities to parents is suggested by the relatively large numbers of parents who were reported to have attended at least one workshop. These figures, which range from 15 to 100 parents, are substantially higher than any yet encountered in this report.

As the table also shows, these training activities were generally conducted by Follow Through staff rather than outside consultants or trainers. Several sites mentioned having occasional guest speakers from local health and social service agencies; but, because of the limited (and in some cases declining) budgets for parent instruction, outside speakers were generally used only when they could appear gratis.

PARENTS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN DETERMINING THE DIRECTION AND SCOPE OF PARENT ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

As mentioned in Chapter 5, PACs frequently sponsored parent workshops, sometimes even including the workshop within a regular PAC meeting. Policy Advisory Groups exercised primary responsibility for planning at two sites

(Mineburg and Point); everywhere else they at least contributed to or ratified decisions made by others on the staff. Some sites looked beyond the PAC to the wider parent group to gather information on parent interests and desires for training. Three sites (Johns, Point, and Westland) sent out annual surveys to all parents asking them to indicate areas in which they would like training. Other sites relied on informal personal interactions between staff and parents to learn what parents desired.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Table 7-2 summarizes the data from the Follow Through Study sites regarding career development activities within projects. Although the regulations define career development to include only activities provided for project paraprofessionals and non-professionals, in practice this distinction was difficult to maintain. Several sites did not differentiate between aides and other parents when providing career development services. Consequently, Table 7-2 contains any program that was designed to provide academic or vocational training to parents, whether or not they happen to be aides. Where projects did differentiate between career development for aides and general parent education, only the career development program has been described in the Table 7-2; parent enrichment activities are included in Table 7-1.

In examining career development programs we were interested in several types of information, summarized in the table. First, we wished to know what types of services were provided and who provided them. Second, we sought information about criteria for admission to the program, about how many parents participated, and about the characteristics of those parents. Third, information about funding and programmatic support for career development activities was sought. Fourth, because the regulations are so explicit in requiring that there be a Career Development Subcommittee of the Follow Through PAC, we looked to see if sites did in fact have functioning committees

supervising career development activities. Finally, the table summarizes information about recent changes in the component at sites where changes had occurred.

Two major findings emerge from the table. These are summarized below.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS WERE WIDESPREAD: 14 SITES PROVIDED AT LEAST SOME SUPPORT TO THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF PARENTS AND AIDES

The same 14 sites that had parent enrichment activities also provided some services to assist the career development of aides and parents. Again, only Circle City and Lincoln did not provide any assistance, and Circle City once had a program.

Although most sites provided some support, the nature and extent of that support varied considerably. In general, two types of programs could be seen. On the one hand were four sites (Charles, Hooper, Point, and Violet) that provided nothing beyond counseling and referral services to parents interested in pursuing their education in local schools and colleges. Lists were kept of programs available in the community, records were kept, and moral support was offered, but direct financial support was not provided to parents.

On the other hand were sites that provided direct financial support and indirect incentives and services to parents and aides interested in furthering their education. The case of Westland was typical of this latter approach. There the project had established a cooperating relationship with a local university to provide college courses to aides and parents interested in furthering their education. Parents registered for these courses and, in return, had half of their tuition and books paid out of project funds. Further, because these courses offered credits required by district policy, aides received salary increases upon their completion of the program. Transportation and child care services were also provided by the project as an incentive to participate.

There were variations within this second type of career development program in the extent of project support, eligibility criteria and recruitment practices. Some sites, such as Silvertown, reimbursed the full cost of tuition and/or books. Others, such as Vale, negotiated tuition or fee waivers from local educational agencies for all or a portion of their career development offerings. Six sites limited the career development component to current aides; others opened them to all parents, regardless of employment. One program (Mineburg) was no longer accepting anyone in the career development program, regardless of their status, because of a funding cut that forced the phasing-out of tuition assistance.

Regardless of eligibility criteria, the numbers of individuals participating in career development programs was typically small, ranging from two in Mineburg to a high of 70 in Vale. Most sites had less than 15 parents enrolled at the time of the data collection.

VERY FEW SITES HAD CAREER DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES ACTIVELY SUPERVISING THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Although career development programs were widespread, active career development committees of the kind described in the Follow Through regulations were not. Only six sites had functioning PAC Career Development committees, and only Serenity's played a major role in supervising the component--screening and recommending aides to receive career development funding. The other five committees rarely met and had little influence over operations of the component.

More commonly, career development activities were monitored and supervised by a Follow Through staff member with little input from parents. These staff members (usually the Project Director or the Parent Coordinator) recruited participants, made arrangements with the participating school or college, and monitored parents' progress in the program. The PAC and aides generally had little voice in managing the program.

III. DISCUSSION: THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN PARENT EDUCATION

To summarize, the Site Study indicated that both forms of parent education, parent enrichment and career development, were widespread and important aspects of Follow Through projects at the sites. These findings suggest two questions that will be addressed in this section: Why were parent education programs so widespread? Why did parents participate in those programs?

WHY WERE PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAMS SO WIDESPREAD?

Once again the simplest and most obvious answer to this question is that these programs were widespread because the Follow Through regulations require them. The data do in fact suggest that there is some truth to this; sites, at least in their early years, were attentive to the regulations and designed their programs in accordance with them. However, as we have seen in other areas, regulations alone are not sufficient to explain the frequency and scope of parent education in Follow Through. Going beyond the regulations, three factors seem to have been paramount: staff attitudes, the "fit" of parent education activities into existing district structures and programs, and the presence of funding.

Staff attitudes seem to have been exceptionally important as a cause for parent education programs. Historically, certainly, and to a large extent today, Follow Through staff have been generally committed to providing a range of parent education services and activities. In part this commitment stems from the roots of Follow Through itself, that is, from Head Start and the War on Poverty. Both Head Start in particular and the War on Poverty in general emphasized a holistic approach to helping low-income families that extended beyond classroom instruction to services for the entire family. Thus, one important motivation for parent education encountered repeatedly among staff was the belief that by helping parents improve themselves the project was ultimately helping the low-income child.

A second source for the widespread support for parent education found among staff was the belief that parent education activities provide an effective incentive for parents to become involved in school activities. Parent education was seen as a useful starting point for other forms of parental involvement in the project. As several staff said, parents who would not come to volunteer or participate on the PAC would come for a sewing workshop. Once involved in the workshop, other forms of involvement became more thinkable to them. Staff at some sites supported this contention by pointing to the overall decline in parental involvement that occurred at their sites following the elimination of parent education workshops after funds were cut.

As we have seen in other functional areas, however, widespread staff support does not necessarily translate into successful implementation if that implementation requires displacement of existing district or school practices or policies. In the area of parent education, however, the data suggest that widespread implementation was possible because there were no existing programs or practices to be changed. To continue a metaphor introduced in earlier discussions, parent education programs were easily implemented because they filled a void in the schools.

The final factor that contributed to the abundance of parent education programs was the existence of funding to support them. Particularly in the area of career development, money must be available to support the relatively expensive services that the program provides. In Follow Through this funding was historically available, either within the regular program grant or through supplementary grants made available by the national Follow Through office. Sites used these funds to implement extensive parent education components.

Although funding was available historically, the data show that this funding is no longer abundant. Parent education workshops and tuition reimbursements were some of the first program elements to be curtailed as funding of regular and supplementary grants declined. The effects of these cuts were seen in the Site Study at nine sites that reported significant diminution of their parent education programs in recent years as a result of budget cuts.

To summarize, parent education programs appear to have been widespread in part because they are mandated in the regulations, but more importantly because staff supported them, they "fit" easily into the district and school structures, and funding was available. However, the data also show that these same programs are vulnerable in this era of declining project resources.

WHY DID PARENTS PARTICIPATE IN PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAMS?

The Site Study data suggest several reasons why parents chose to participate in parent education activities as much as they did and, conversely, why other parents chose not to participate. These reasons were somewhat different for parent enrichment and career development facets of programs.

Briefly, four reasons were most commonly offered by parents for participating in parent enrichment workshops and other activities: (1) the opportunity to socialize with other parents; (2) personal growth and development; (3) the opportunity to learn things that would help their child; and (4) the fact that they provided a convenient means of participating in the project. Parents, in other words, came to parent enrichment activities because they found them attractive; they offered skills and experiences that parents found desirable.

In contrast, the motivation for participation in career development activities tended to be more purely economic; parents saw these services as a means to higher salaries and more responsibility.

Reasons offered by respondents for not participating have been seen before: discomfort in the school; lack of child care; lack of time; lack of transportation; etc. However, some sites serving several ethnic groups noted a tendency for parent education activities to be attended only by members of one group. This was especially true at sites where there were some tensions among the groups, such as Charles and Hooper. At each of these, parent participants at parent education workshops were predominantly Black, despite the fact that

Hispanics were the majority ethnic group among the parent population. At Hooper, this tendency was aggravated by the failure of staff to provide translation at workshops for monolingual Spanish-speaking parents.

In summary, parent education activities tended to attract large numbers of parent participants, more than was seen in other areas of parental involvement. This level of participation appears to have resulted from parents' perception of these activities as a convenient and personally valuable form of participation. Career development was popular because of the economic incentives associated with it.

OUTCOMES FROM PARTICIPATION IN PARENT EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Outcomes reported by respondents, both parents and staff, were of two kinds: personal outcomes for the parents themselves and institutional outcomes for the project and schools. The personal outcomes reported reflect the motivations for participation mentioned in the preceding section: parents found the parent enrichment workshops informative and enjoyable, providing them with information and skills useful in the home, as well as the opportunity to socialize with other parents; they found career development programs attractive because these programs frequently brought with them the prospect or promise of higher salaries and increased job responsibility.

Institutional outcomes have also been alluded to already. Several principals and project staff members mentioned that, as a result of parent enrichment workshops, parents were more familiar with the project, were more comfortable coming into the school, and were willing to participate in other functional areas. Thus, participation in parent education activities enhanced the overall parental involvement programs at projects. Although systematic data to corroborate these claims were not collected, their frequency suggests that they may well be valid.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, parent education activities--particularly those that have here been called "parent enrichment"--appear to have been one of the most popular forms of parent involvement in Follow Through projects. Almost all sites offered some activities, and most provided a variety of workshops and materials addressing a number of topics. The experiences and practices of these study sites, therefore, should suggest several approaches that policy makers desiring greater involvement in this area might follow.

The data also suggest that the most eminent threat to parent education programs is not lack of success, but lack of funds. In a time of declining resources this component has proved to be one of the most vulnerable to funding cuts. One obvious though perhaps unrealistic solution to this problem would, of course, be to increase Federal funding for parent education activities. To be pragmatic, though, Follow Through projects will probably have to continue trying to maintain services with fewer resources. The data reported here suggest several possible approaches to doing this. In the area of parent enrichment more reliance might be placed on free resources in the community or among the parents themselves. In the area of career development, of course, the problem is more complex. Several sites in our sample convinced the district to assume many of the costs of career development, creating an overall career development program for the district. Others were able to convince local schools and colleges to waive tuitions and fees for parents interested in participating in the career development program. Still another approach could be to identify alternative sources of funding, either through other Federal programs (Vale, for example, uses CETA money to fund its full-time parent education aide), or through grants from corporations. Whatever the approach taken, the evidence from the Site Study indicates that creative new approaches to funding will have to be devised if parent education is to survive and grow in Follow Through.

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOVER	JOHNS CO.	LINCOLN
TOPICS	PARENTING	(Formerly)			•	•	•	•	
	COMMUNITY AWARENESS	•						•	
	HOME SKILLS/ CRAFTS			•	•	•	•		
	HEALTH/ NUTRITION	•					•	•	
NUMBER OF PARENTS		50	None	No Data	45	No Data	No Data	No Data	None
RECRUITMENT		Flyers Telephone Home visits	—	Newsletter Flyers Telephone (Aides)	Newsletter Letters home PAC	Newsletter PAC	Posted notices Letters home Word of mouth	No Data	—
PLANNING		PC Nurse	—	Staff PAC	PD PP SW	PD PC	PC PAC Chair Nurse	PE Specialist PD ST PAC	—
CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS		Mostly Black	—	All Black	80% Women W: 90% NA: 10% <HS: 50% HS: 50%	No Data	Mostly Black Few Hispanics	Mostly Black	—
FUNDING		None	—	No Data	\$250	None	None	FT: \$2,000 District: \$16,000	—
PRESENTERS		Local agencies	—	Aides, PC	Local agencies	Staff Community	Local agencies PC Nurse	No Data	—
MONITORING		None	—	Informal by Staff	Informal	Informal	Informal	Parent Survey	—

LEGEND:

TOPICS

- = Classes are Given in this Area

NUMBER OF PARENTS

None - No Parent Enrichment Activities

STAFF

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
PP = Aide
SW = Social Worker
PE Specialist = Parent Education Specialist
PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

ETHNICITY

W = White
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
B = Black

EDUCATION

<HS = Less than High School
HS = High School

Table 7-1. Parent Education: Parent Enrichment

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
TOPICS	PARENTING		•	•		•	•	•	•
	COMMUNITY AWARENESS	•	•			•	•		
	HOME SKILLS/ CRAFTS	•			•	•		•	
	HEALTH/ NUTRITION		•		•	•	•		•
NUMBER OF PARENTS		15	No Data	20	100	75	No Data	50	30
RECRUITMENT		Notices sent home	Letters home Home visits	Newsletter PAC Announcements Letters home Word of mouth	Letters home Newsletter Media Word of mouth	Word of mouth Newsletter Announcements	No Data	Word of mouth Announcements Home visits (PC)	Letters home Newsletter Announcements
PLANNING		PAC	PAC	PD, PC	Staff PAC	PC	Nurse	Staff PAC	PD Nurse ST PC, PAC
CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS		N.D.	All Black	B: 50% W: 50%	B: 75% W: 25%	B: 100%	No Data o	Mostly White	100% Women All White Most HS
FUNDING		FT: \$475 PAC	None	FT: \$1000	FT: \$5,000	FT: \$600 CETA	None	FT: \$350 Sponsor	FT: \$3,000
PRESENTERS		Local Agencies Staff	PC SW	PC	Staff	FT PP	Nurse	Sponsor ST	Staff
MONITORING		None	Parent Survey	No Data	None	Informal	None	Parent Survey	Informal

LEGEND.

TOPICS

• = Classes are
Given in
this Area

NUMBER OF PARENTS

None = No Parent Enrichment Activities

STAFF

PD = Project Director
PC = Parent Coordinator
PP = Aide
SW = Social Worker
PE Specialist = Parent Education Specialist
PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

ETHNICITY

W = White
H = Hispanic
NA = Native
American
B = Black

EDUCATION

<HS = Less than
High School
HS = High School

Table 7 -1. Parent Education: Parent Enrichment (Continued)

	CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS CO.	LINCOLN
TYPE OF PROGRAM	Referral only	None	GEO	GEO	College	Referral only	College	None
WHO PROVIDES	Local college	—	Local college	Local schools	Local colleges	Local colleges	Local university	—
ELIGIBILITY	All parents	—	All parents	All parents	Aides	All parents	Aides	—
NO. PARENTS	8	—	No Data	No Data	13	No Data	8	—
CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS	No Data	—	No Data	No Data	Female: 100% B: 100%	No Data	Female: 100% B: 80%	—
FUNDING	None	—	No Data	None	Supplementary FT Grant: \$11,000	None	Supplementary FT Grant: \$12,000	—
RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION	Notices Guest speaker	—	No Data	Informal	None now	None	—	—
KEY STAFF	None	—	PC	SW	PD, ST	PC, Chair	No Data	—
FUNCTIONING CAREER DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE	No	—	No	No	No	No	Yes	—
PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT	None	—	No Data	Student teaching credit Tuition	Counseling Salary increase Promotions Babysitting	None	Tuition and fees Books Clerical services	—
CHANGES	—	Once had program	—	—	—	Program being phased out	—	—

LEGEND:

STAFF

PD = Project Director
 PC = Parent Coordinator
 Chair = PAC Chairperson
 SW = Social Worker
 ST = Staff Trainer
 PAC = Policy Advisory Committee

CHARACTERISTICS

B: Black
 W: White
 <HS: Less than High School
 HS: High School Diploma

Table 7-2. Parent Education: Career Development

	MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
TYPE OF PROGRAM	College GED	Referral only	College	AA Degree	College GED Adult Education	Referral only	GED College	Adult Education GED College
WHO PROVIDES	Local college Adult learning center (GED)	Local colleges and schools	Local college	Community college	Community college Local university District	Local college and high school	Local university	No Data
ELIGIBILITY	FT Aides	All parents	FT Aides	Aides (FT & NFT)	All parents	All parents	All parents	All parents
NO. PARENTS	2	5-6	8	40	70	13	6	4
CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS	Former FT Parents	Female: 100% B : 100%	Female: 100% B 50% W: 50% HS: 100%	B: 75% W: 25% <HS: 20% HS 70%	Mostly low income Black females	Female: 100%	No data	Female: 100%
FUNDING	FT Supplementary Funds \$2,500	None	FT: \$1,000	District and Community College Fund	FT Supplementary Grant: \$8,000 District support	None	FT	FT: \$3,000
RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION	Closed, to new participants	Notices Guest Speakers	Aide applies and is screened by PAC Committee; PD approves	Express Interest	Announcements Home visits	College recruits in school	Informal	No Data
KEY STAFF	PD, ST	PC	PD	PD	PC	PC	PC	PD
FUNCTIONING CAREER DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
PROGRAMMATIC SUPPORT	Tuition Books Exam fees (GED)	Counseling re: opportunities	Tuition 1/2 Books	Books Tuition Child care Salary increase Travel	Tuition waiver Counseling	Counseling re: opportunities	Salary increase 1/2 Tuition 1/2 Books Child care Counseling Travel	Tuition
CHANGES	Program phasing out	Once there was funding for PE Less attention now	Funding cuts but services maintained					

LEGEND

STAFF

- PD • Project Director
- PC • Parent Coordinator
- Chair • PAC Chairperson
- SW • Social Worker
- ST • Staff Trainer
- PAC • Policy Advisory Committee

CHARACTERISTICS

- B. Black
- W White
- <HS Less than High School
- HS. High School Diploma

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Table 7-2. Parent Education: Career Development (Continued)

CHAPTER 8

OTHER FORMS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings from the Site Study in the final two areas of parental involvement: Non-Instructional Support Services and School-Community Relations. These areas are combined here not because they were unimportant or uncommon, but because sites tended to combine them within their projects. For purposes of the Site Study, Non-Instructional Support Services were defined as any activity engaged in by parents other than classroom instruction and governance that contributed to the economic, political, or moral support of the Follow Through project. As we shall see, this definition admits a wide range of activities, from volunteering in the halls to lobbying in Washington.

The School-Community Relations function encompasses two interrelated aspects of interaction between the school and its community: communication and interpersonal relations. School-parent communication is particularly critical for programs such as Follow Through. Project staff need to know the concerns, interests and desires of parents when designing and implementing Follow Through services. Parents, similarly, have a right and need to know what the program entails. Thus, the Site Study sought to trace the mechanisms and practices employed by projects to ensure ongoing communication with parents. Related to this concern for communication of information and concerns, the Site Study also looked for any practices used by projects to improve interpersonal relations between school staff and parents.

This chapter follows the plan of the preceding chapters. Again, there are four parts. This first introduces the two function areas under consideration and summarizes both their place in the Follow Through regulations and the major Site Study findings concerning them. Part II presents the findings in each area from the 16 sites studied, again following the convention of describing only major findings with other findings summarized in accompanying tables. Part III discusses some of the causes and consequences of the major findings. Part IV then considers some of the implications of these findings for policy makers interested in enhancing these forms of parental involvement.

PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES AND SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS: THE FOLLOW THROUGH REGULATIONS

Although not mentioning either form of involvement explicitly, the Follow Through regulations do allude to them in several places.

First, in outlining the duties of the Follow Through coordinator the regulations state that the coordinator is responsible for "maintaining communication and cooperation among the program sponsor, Follow Through parents, Policy Advisory Committee members, project staff, administrative and other school staff, and the various community agencies and organization which

serve low-income persons." The regulations then proceed to define the duties of the Policy Advisory Committee to include (a) "contributing to the continued effectiveness of the project coordination" and (b) "mobilizing community resources and securing the active participation of Follow Through parents in the projects."

Thus, without being explicit, the regulations make clear the expectation that parents will be involved in all phases of school support and that the project will strive to maintain effective and frequent communication between project staff and the parents they serve.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Major findings are presented separately for the two functional areas.

Non-Instructional Support Services

- Parental involvement in non-instructional support services was widespread and diverse; all sites involved parents in at least some way in non-instructional support, and most had several types of involvement.
- Policy Advisory Committees played a major role in fostering and coordinating non-instructional support activities. At many sites this was the principal function of the PAC.

School-Community Relations

- Activities to improve communications and relations between parents and the school were widespread; almost all of the sites studied provided at least some practices or events in these areas.

These major findings will be discussed further in the sections that follow.

II. SITE STUDY FINDINGS: OTHER FORMS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Major findings for the two functional areas, Non-Instructional Support Services and School-Community Relations, are described separately in the sections that follow.

NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES

The data collected from the 16 Follow Through sites relating to Non-Instructional Support Services are summarized in Table 8-1. Because of the variety of activities found in this area it was difficult to collect precise data on the number and characteristics of parents who participated in any one activity; numbers tended to vary considerably depending on the activity, and sites generally did not keep accurate records of participation. Consequently, Table 8-1 simply describes the activities encountered at the Site Study sites, and notes when activities were organized by the PAC. It also indicates sites that had organized programs to recruit and place parent volunteers in positions outside the classroom that supported project activities.

Two major findings emerge from the table.

NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES WERE WIDESPREAD AND VARIED

As Table 8-2 indicates, non-instructional support services were widespread among the 16 sites included in the Site Study, and most sites reported a wide range of activities to enlist parents. These various activities generally fit into five major categories:

- Fund Raising. Perhaps the most commonly mentioned form of non-instructional support, these activities were generally intended either to raise money for the PAC or to raise funds for specific project needs, such as books or equipment. Sites showed considerable creativity in the particular types of activities used to raise funds

ranging from bake sales, art sales, and book sales, to carnivals, auctions, lotteries, and fashion shows. Ten sites had activities in this area.

- Program Assistance. Also widely reported, this category included a range of volunteer and support activities intended to provide direct assistance to the program. The most comprehensive example was found in Compass, where parent volunteers worked in the office, the library, in the hallways, and the cafeteria. Other forms of program assistance included transporting children to receive medical and dental services, distributing food and clothing to needy school families, assisting the project nurse or social worker, painting or decorating the school building, and making or donating equipment for the school. Ten sites had activities in this area.
- Supervision of Children. This category included supervisory activities that occurred outside the classroom, such as chaperoning field trips, monitoring hallways, etc. Seven sites involved parents in these activities.
- Political Action. Most activities in this area were directed either at Congress or the local boards of education. Follow Through has been threatened several times in its history, both by Congress at the national level and by local school districts considering elimination either of the program or of a particular school within it. Parents at nine sites mobilized at least once and, in some cases annually, to retain their program by writing letters, by demonstrating, and, occasionally, even by traveling to Washington D.C. at their own expense to state their case.
- Social/Cultural Events. The final way in which parents contributed to the non-instructional support of the project or school was by organizing social or cultural events for children or parents. These events

ranged from parties or assemblies to celebrations of ethnic holidays, to banquets for teachers and parents. Parents at one site even organized a summer baseball league for Follow Through families. Fourteen sites organized at least one social/cultural event.

Five sites (Compass, Point, Silvertown, Violet, and Woodville) had organized programs to recruit parents to work as volunteers in one or more of the above areas. For the most part, these programs were part of or encompassed the classroom volunteer programs described in Chapter 6. The program at Compass was typical of these organized efforts.

The Compass Program

The School PACs at each Follow Through school put together a pamphlet for parents that urged them to volunteer and outlined the ways that parent volunteers could participate. The pamphlet described several volunteer roles: General Service Volunteers, who assisted in the library or monitored hallways and doors; Clerical Volunteers, who mimeographed materials, distributed forms to classrooms, and performed general clerical duties throughout the school; Library Volunteers, who worked with the librarian filing and processing books; Departmental Volunteers, who assisted with record keeping and inventory control in the schools' academic departments; Hospitality Volunteers, who worked with the Parent Coordinator to receive parents visiting the school and to conduct them to their destination in the building; and School-Community Volunteers, who assisted the Parent Coordinator in informing parents about school and community services. Approximately 15 to 20 parents worked as volunteers in each Follow Through school.

Information about the actual number of Follow Through parents participating in one or more of these support activities was sketchy and varied considerably across particular activities. Social events and fundraisers generally attracted large numbers of parents; program assistance and supervision

activities generally attracted smaller numbers. Consequently, it is impossible to generalize from the available data about the extent of parent participation in support services.

PACS WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN FOSTERING AND ORGANIZING NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

This finding was anticipated in the discussion of the PAC role in project governance; there it was noted that most PACs saw their principal role in the area of school support, rather than in governance. That finding is reflected in the data summarized in Table 8-1: most of the activities in the area of non-instructional support services were organized by PACs. Indeed, as we noted in Chapter 5, most of PAC decision making occurred when planning school support events, such as fundraisers or social events. PACs typically had considerable authority in these areas and could plan and implement events as they wished, subject only to coordination with school officials. There were very few instances reported of school or project officials resisting PAC initiatives in this area.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Table 8-2 summarizes the Site Study data relating to site efforts to maintain communication and constructive relations between parents and the school. Again, because of the range of activities included in this area and the general absence of site records, it is impossible to do more than summarize in the tables the types of activities and mechanisms encountered, along with notation of who was responsible for providing the activity or managing the mechanism.

A single major finding can be derived from these data.

ACTIVITIES AND MECHANISMS TO ENSURE COMMUNICATION AND POSITIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS AND SCHOOLS WERE WIDESPREAD AND VARIED

As Table 8-2 shows, every site but Lincoln provided at least one mechanism or activity to ensure communication and positive relations between schools and

parents. Six sites (Golden, Johns, Mineburg, Vale, Westland, and Woodville) reported several such mechanisms. These mechanisms fell into two general types: (1) methods of two-way interaction, such as conferences; and (2) one-way communication from the project to parents through newsletters, etc. Since there was considerable variety within each of these categories, they will be discussed separately.

The sites' approach to maintaining two-way communication usually took one of four forms:

- Personal contacts by project staff. Nine sites had staff personally contacting parents in their homes, either through home visits or by telephone. Although Parent Coordinators or social workers generally made these contacts, four sites (Mineburg, Vale, Westland and Falling Waters) also had teachers making home visits to orient parents to the project, discuss student progress, and recruit parent volunteers.
- Parent visits to the school. These included back-to-school nights, classroom observation, open houses, and parent-teacher conferences. Six sites provided at least some of these activities, usually on an annual basis.
- Social events. This way was by far the most common approach to bringing staff and parents together to communicate and get to know one another. Twelve sites provided activities of this type, usually in the form of regular potluck dinners or luncheons, Follow Through picnics, etc.*

*Distinctions between non-instructional support activities and activities in this area were sometimes difficult to maintain. Consequently, Tables 8-1 and 8-2 overlap in this domain.

- Workshops or clubs. A less common, but reportedly effective approach to improved staff-parent relations was workshops or clubs that included staff, parents, and occasionally children. Golden, for example, had a PAC-sponsored annual weekend retreat for parents and staff; Vale had a Computer Club where teachers, parents, and children together experimented with the project's microcomputer.
- Exchanges through intermediaries. Parent Coordinators or aides frequently functioned as intermediaries between parents and project staff. These liaisons were generally informal and based on the fact that aides and Parent Coordinators often came from the same communities and ethnic groups served by the projects.
- Parent rooms. Eight sites provided special rooms for parents to visit whenever they wished. These rooms were frequently equipped with materials and tools, such as sewing machines or televisions, to make them more attractive to parents. Vale had a separate house set up solely for Follow Through parents that was staffed full time by an aide and supplied with a variety of tools and materials. These rooms were extremely popular among parents and served functions that extended beyond communication. Vale, for example, used its Parent House as a center for all parent education activities. Other sites, such as Hooper, held all PAC meetings in their parent rooms.

Mechanisms for one-way communication were also common with 11 sites using one or more of the following devices: project newsletters, mailings, media announcements, pamphlets, and speakers at large parent meetings. (This final approach is considered one-way here, although these large meetings frequently turned into interchanges between staff and parents.) Compass utilized perhaps the most varied communication approaches of this kind, publishing a regular Follow Through newsletter, soliciting occasional media coverage of project events, sponsoring orientation workshops for parents and publishing pamphlets that described the project's volunteer program.

III. DISCUSSIONS: THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES AND SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

To summarize, both non-instructional support services and school-community relations activities were widespread among the Site Study sites. Almost all projects offered at least some activities in both areas, and most provided a variety. Further, the evidence indicates that Policy Advisory Committees were instrumental in fostering and organizing many non-instructional support activities.

Returning to Haney and Pennington's reanalysis of the 1975 Follow Through Parent and Teacher surveys, we again find support for these general findings at least as they relate to what we have called "School-Community Relations." The Parent Interview data in that reanalysis suggested that more Follow Through than non-Follow Through parents went to watch their children's class in school (FT: 52% vs. NFT: 38%). Also, those who did visit their child's class did so almost twice as frequently and more often as a result of their own decision to do so than did non-Follow Through parents (69% vs. 60%). They also found that, while Follow Through and non-Follow Through parents were about equally likely to go to school to talk with the teacher (82%), Follow Through parents averaged about one more visit per year (4.5) than non-Follow Through parents (3.4). Their analyses of the Teacher Survey data supported the parent responses precisely.

Finally, the Haney and Pennington reanalyses touched on home visits by teachers. They found that while home visits by teachers were not very frequent overall, almost three times as many Follow Through parents (12%) reported a visit to their home by the teacher as non-Follow Through parents (4%). More Follow Through parents also reported home visits by classroom aides, medical personnel, social workers, and Parent Coordinators than did non-Follow Through parents. "In sum, both parent and teacher data indicate that direct contact--both at school and at home, between parents, teachers,

and other school personnel--not only consistently involves more FT parents than NFT parents; but contact is more frequent for the FT parents than for the NFT parents."

These findings suggest two questions to be addressed in this section: Why were non-instructional support and school-community relations activities so widespread? Why did parents participate (or not participate) in them? Because there was so much overlap between the two function areas, discussions of causes and consequences will be combined in this section.

WHY WERE ACTIVITIES SO WIDESPREAD?

The evidence from the Site Study suggests several reasons for the abundance of activities in these two domains at the sites studied. The first important reason, encountered before, was the attitudes and efforts of certain key staff and parents associated with the project. Non-instructional support and school-community relations activities occurred as often as they did because staff and parents actively supported it. Although seldom mentioned in the data, we can speculate on at least one reason for this widespread support: in many respects school support and communication are the least controversial forms of parental involvement in schools and most closely resemble the traditional "PTA" variety of involvement. Fundraisers, social events, etc., are not new to schools; they represent forms of involvement traditionally and are even supported by principals and teachers. These activities do not place parents in the classroom; nor do they involve parents in project decision making. Instead, they enlist parents in supporting the ongoing work of school professionals.

Another reason suggested by the data for the extent and variety of activities in these two function areas was the role played by Parent Coordinators at Follow Through sites. Even at sites where the PAC took the lead in planning and sponsoring events of this type, Parent Coordinators were present to encourage and facilitate these efforts.

Looking across the sites that provided the most activities in these areas, such as Compass, Golden, Mineburg, Point, Serenity, Silvertown, Woodville and Westland, other factors become apparent that alone or in combination help explain the number and variety of services and activities offered by these projects. Two factors were most significant: the presence of a strong PAC and the setting of the project in communities with traditions of activism.

Without exception, the sites that were most successful in these two areas were projects that had strong and active PACs (see Chapter 5). These PACs assumed responsibility and initiative for organizing non-instructional support service activities. In six cases (Compass, Mineburg, Point, Silvertown, Woodville and Westland) the PACs were also involved in wider project decisions, along with organizing non-instructional support and communication activities--suggesting that PACs that are vital in governance tend also to be active in others.

There is some evidence that projects with active non-instructional support and communication components also benefited from a climate of activism that surrounded them in the community. For example, many of the sites with high levels of involvement in non-instructional support services such as Mineburg, Golden, Woodville, and Point, were situated in communities where citizens tended to be active in churches, schools, and local government. These traditions of activism extended into the schools and resulted in high levels of involvement by at least some parents in school affairs of all kinds.

WHY DID PARENTS PARTICIPATE IN NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT AND SCHOOL-COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES?

If the factors discussed above help explain why projects provided activities in these areas, they leave unanswered questions of why individual parents choose to participate or not participate in activities provided.

Although precise counts of the numbers of parents participating in these other forms of parental involvement were impossible, reports from respondents suggest that these activities attracted more parents than any offered by the

projects. Only some parents could be interviewed at each site, but these parents did suggest several reasons for this extensive participation. First, these activities provided the most convenient medium for involvement in the schools. Parents could generally participate in these activities on a one-time basis at times convenient to them; many were scheduled in the evening when working parents were free to attend. Second, many of these activities resembled more traditional forms of parental involvement in schools and did not require parents to alter many established views of the proper role of parents in the school. Third, these activities tended to be "fun" for parents. Several site parent rooms, for example, became popular havens for parents, where they could meet and socialize with others.

Some parents, of course, did not participate--even at "active" sites. Again, several reasons were suggested in the data for this lack of participation. Several of the projects studied served two or more ethnic groups; frequently there was some tension between groups that discouraged some parents from attending or participating in project activities. Hooper, for example, served both Black and Hispanic children, but the PAC and the project staff were predominantly Black. Black parents consequently visited the project's parent room and worked in non-instructional activities much more than Hispanics.

Some projects were placed in schools that were widely dispersed, both from each other and from the parent community. This dispersal meant that some parents had to travel long distances to unfamiliar neighborhoods to attend school functions. Many reportedly chose not to.

Several sites mentioned the preponderance of working mothers as a hindrance to parental participation in non-instructional support and communication activities. Even when activities were scheduled in the evening, it was reportedly difficult to attract some parents to weekday functions.

Finally, even though these were the least demanding and most familiar forms of parental involvement, many parents were said still to be too uncomfortable in the schools to participate in or attend project affairs.

OUTCOMES FROM PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT AND COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

As in other areas, anecdotal evidence of both personal and institutional outcomes was sought for these function areas. Respondents at several sites reported that all forms of parental involvement in the school benefited from parental participation in non-instructional support and communication activities. Parents who were attracted to the school for a Back-to-School Night or for a Follow Through social event were frequently convinced by this experience to participate as classroom volunteers or PAC members. Westland even used their fall Back-to-School Night as the occasion for holding elections of PAC members. Conversely, respondents at Johns reported that overall parent involvement in their project declined when the project cut back on non-instructional support activities.

Several projects reported tangible benefits from parent fund-raising activities. Silvertown's PAC used these funds to support the Follow Through Parent-Child Learning Centers; other sites purchased playground and classroom equipment with money raised through PAC and project activities. Similarly, sites noted that the various forms of programmatic assistance offered by parents, such as transportation or maintenance services, were themselves resources that the project would have been unable to afford otherwise. Perhaps most critically, the political actions of parents through letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, and personal contacts were widely credited for the continued survival of Follow Through both locally and nationally.

Personal benefits from non-instructional support and communication activities were less frequently mentioned in the data. Staff and parents often noted that the various events sponsored by the project to bring parents and staff together had the effect of making parents more aware and supportive of Follow Through. Further, these activities were said by some to have warmed reluctant parents to the schools and had encouraged them to become involved in other ways.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

To summarize, both non-instructional support and school-community activities were widespread among the sites studied. Several conclusions can be derived from these findings.

First, the evidence suggests that these non-instructional support and communication activities offer a useful first step toward more substantive parental involvement in Follow Through. Whereas those interested in an increased role for parents in governance and instruction must frequently contend with reluctance both among educators and parents, participation in non-instructional support and communication is relatively non-controversial and easy to accomplish. District officials, Parent Coordinators, and PACs wishing to develop more substantial roles for parents (i.e., in governance and education) might therefore begin by sponsoring a variety of non-instructional support activities and communication events, both as a medium for introducing parents and staff to each other and as a vehicle for recruiting parents for wider roles in the school.

A second conclusion is suggested by the variety of activities found at the more active sites in these areas. The most active sites provided a range of opportunities for involvement that demanded various levels of time, skill, and commitment from parents. This variety permitted parents to choose a form of involvement that was best for them. Local planners might therefore take this into account when planning parent involvement activities and consciously offer parents a range of possibilities for participating.

Finally, though, these data also suggest a warning. The Follow Through regulations clearly intend that parents become involved in project governance and in the instructional process. These other forms of parental involvement are useful ways to attract parents to the school and to solicit participation from them, but they remain secondary to the overall goals of Follow Through parental involvement. As we saw at some Site Study projects, there is the

danger that non-instructional support activities can essentially take over a project's parental involvement program, diverting attention from the other forms of parental involvement outlined in the regulations. The most effective sites were those that used non-instructional support activities to complement rather than to displace other forms of parental involvement.

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLDEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
ACTIVITIES	FUND RAISING	Bake sales (PAC)		Various (PAC)	Bazaars (PAC) Food sales (PAC) Special events (PAC)	Bake sale (PAC) Fashion show (PAC) Garage sale (PAC)	Unspecified (PAC)		
	PROGRAM ASSISTANCE (CUSTODIAL, CLERICAL)		Sewing (PAC) Distribution of clothing Transport children to medical (PAC)	Clerical, office & library (PAC) "General Service" Volunteers (PAC) Cooking (PAC)	Food Distribution Program (PAC)	Assist in parent coordination activities Assist in resource center	Run resource room Building security Purchased instructional materials for school		
	SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN		Field trips (PAC)	Cafeteria (PAC) Security (PAC)			Security		
	POLITICAL ACTION			Congress: Letter and trip to D.C. (PAC)	Congress: Letterwriting (PAC) Protest meetings	Congress and LEA; Letterwriting (PAC)			
	SOCIAL/ CULTURAL EVENTS	Field trips (PAC) Graduation party (PAC) Annual dinner	Summer Sports League (PAC) Annual dinner (PAC)	Award ceremony (PAC)	Sports (PAC) Holiday dinner (PAC) Picnic (PAC)	Easter Egg Hunt (PAC) Staff luncheon (PAC) Picnic	Graduation party Cultural events Staff luncheon	Annual dinner	Holiday events (PAC) Bingo (PAC)
NON-INSTRUCTIONAL VOLUNTEER PROGRAM?		No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

*A "(PAC)" following an entry indicates that the event is sponsored and organized by the Policy Advisory Committee

Table 8-1. Non-Instructional Support Services

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	WESTLAND	WOODVILLE
ACTIVITIES	FUND RAISING	Bake sales (PAC) Bazaars (PAC)		Art sales	Book sales (PAC)			Carnival booth (PAC)	Bake sales (PAC) Raffles (PAC) Auctions (PAC)
	PROGRAM ASSISTANCE (CLERICAL, CUSTODIAL)		Clerical (PAC) Making materials (PAC) Assist nurse	Distribution of clothing, food (PAC) Social Service Aides	Custodial (PAC) Laundry (PAC) Sewing (PAC) Painting (PAC) FT Exhibit (PAC) Purchase books for RIF (PAC)			Transport children for medical care Donated money for playground equipment (PAC)	Distribution of clothing (PAC) Decorate building (PAC)
	SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN		Cafeteria (PAC) Nurses office (PAC) Counsel children (PAC)		Nurses office Field trips Medical chaperone		Security (PAC) Cafeteria (PAC)		Cafeteria (PAC) Field trips (PAC)
	POLITICAL ACTION	Congress: Letterwriting (PAC)		Congress: Letters & Visits to D.C. (PAC)	Congress (PAC)	Congress: Visit to D.C.	School Board (PAC) Voter Registration Program (PAC)	Congress (PAC) LEA (PAC)	
	SOCIAL/CULTURAL EVENTS	Graduation party (PAC) Field trips (PAC) Holiday party (PAC) Weekly Morning Mothers Group	Cultural activities (PAC)	Field trips (PAC) Picnic (PAC)	Field trips (PAC)	Computer Club Annual Fish Fry		Luncheons (PAC) Annual "Appreciation Tea" for teachers & aides (PAC)	Holiday party (PAC) Talent show (PAC) Annual dinner (PAC)
NON-INSTRUCTIONAL VOLUNTEER PROGRAM?		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

*A "(PAC)" following an entry indicates that the event is sponsored and organized by the Policy Advisory Committee

Table 8-1. Non-Instructional Support Services (Continued)

		CHARLES	CIRCLE CITY	COMPASS	FALLING WATERS	GOLOEN	HOOPER	JOHNS	LINCOLN
INTERPERSONAL	PERSONAL CONTACTS BY STAFF		Parent Coordinator	Parent Coordinator	Social Worker, Teachers	Parent Coordinator		Parent Coordinator, Aides	
	PARENT-TEACHER CONFERENCES; OPEN HOUSE, BACK TO SCHOOL NIGHT				Yes			Yes (PAC)	
	SOCIAL EVENTS*	Yes	Yes (PAC)		Yes (PAC)	Yes (PAC)	Yes	Yes	
	WORKSHOPS, CLUBS					Annual Retreat		Monthly Workshops	
	EXCHANGE THROUGH INTERMEDIARY		Classroom Aides, PAC	Aides, Parent Coordinator, PAC		PAC	Parent Coordinator	PAC	
	PARENT ROOM	Yes			Yes		Yes	Yes	
ONE-WAY	NEWSLETTERS			Yes	Yes (Project)	Yes (Project)			
	OTHER MAILOUTS		Yes		Yes				
	MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS			Yes					
	HANDBOOKS, PAMPHLETS			Yes (PAC)	Yes	Yes (Sponsor, Project)			
	WORKSHOPS ON PROJECT ITSELF			Yes (PAC)		Yes (PAC)			

*See Table 8-1 for list of events.

Table 8-2. School-Community Relations

		MINEBURG	POINT	SERENITY	SILVERTOWN	VALE	VIOLET	VESTLAND	WROOVILLE
INTERPERSONAL	PERSONAL CONTACTS BY STAFF	Parent Coordinator, Aides, Teachers	Aides	Social Worker		Teacher, Nurse, Social Worker, Parent Coordinator		Teachers, Parent Coordinator	Teachers
	PARENT-TEACHER CONFERENCES: OPEN HOUSE, BACK TO SCHOOL NIGHT			Yes (PAC)	Yes	Yes		Yes (PAC)	
	SOCIAL EVENTS*	Yes (PAC)		Yes (PAC)	Yes (PAC)	Yes		Yes (PAC)	Yes (PAC)
	WORKSHOPS, CLUBS			Yes (PAC)		Yes			
	EXCHANGE THROUGH INTERMEDIARY	PAC Classrooms	PAC	PAC	PAC			PAC	PAC
	PARENT ROOM	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes		
ONE-WAY	NEWSLETTERS	Yes (Project)		Yes (PAC)	Yes (PAC)	Yes (Project)	Yes	Yes (PAC)	Yes (Parents)
	OTHER MAILINGS	Yes	Yes (Project, PAC)	Yes (PAC)				Yes	Yes (Project)
	MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS	Yes			Yes			Yes	
	HANDBOOKS, PAMPHLETS								
	WORKSHOPS ON PROJECT ITSELF		Yes					Yes (Sponsor)	

*See Table 8-1 for list of events.

Table 8-2. School-Community Relations (Continued)

CHAPTER 9

POLICY ISSUES FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN FOLLOW THROUGH

I. INTRODUCTION

A critical dimension of early work on the Study of Parental Involvement was the identification of policy-relevant issues that would guide the study. As an outcome of a review of literature on parents in the educational process, interviews with persons concerned with parental involvement, and interactions with the Study's Policy Advisory Group, five issues were specified that could bear on Federal, state, or local policies. These issues were reviewed in Chapter 1 of this report and are discussed more fully in Working Paper No. 1, Policy-Relevant Issues and Research Questions, October, 1979.

In this chapter we present our findings regarding the five policy-relevant issues. Each issue is discussed separately. The format for the presentations begins with a summary of the reasons behind the issues, then continues with a description of our major findings and analyses for the issue.

II. PARENTS IN THE GOVERNANCE ROLE

The major Congressional concern relative to parental involvement has been on parents actively participating in the governance of Federal educational programs through the medium of advisory groups. Interest by Congress in a governance role for parents springs from the concept of participatory democracy--that persons who are affected by Federal programs should have opportunities to participate in decisions about that program that may affect their lives. The Follow Through projects reflect this Congressional intent, insisting that parents must be involved in all phases of project decision making and outlining several domains where parents should exercise primary responsibility for decisions.

There is a variety of viewpoints regarding parents and the governance role. On one hand, the argument has been made that current legislation, regulations and practices are adequate to allow parents to have meaningful participation in project governance. This position is taken by those who believe that broad mandates are sufficient and that the right things will happen because of the good will of those involved. A contrary argument is that considerably more specificity and detail are needed in mandates if true participatory democracy is to be realized in a program. Unless they are required by such specificity to do so entrenched interest groups will not give up power to others.

In this study, we addressed the following policy issues relating to governance:

- Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate in making important project decisions?
- Do existing state and local practices affect parental participation in the making of important project decisions?

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

When we explored parental participation in the governance of Follow Through projects, we had a primary focus on Policy Advisory Committees, but we also examined the influence of individual parents and of other groups or organizations. Our key findings were as follows:

1. Parents, as individuals, played little role in Follow Through governance apart from the PAC.
2. Neither advisory groups for other Federal programs (such as Title I) nor other organizations (such as the PTA) had any appreciable influence on Follow Through project governance.
3. Although most PACs participated fully in decisions about parent activities, fewer than half played more than a token role in project decisions about student services, budget, or personnel, and none approached the comprehensive governance role defined for them in the Follow Through regulations.

We tried to explain the findings in terms of the questions that specified the policy-relevant issues. We were particularly interested in determining the effects of legislation, regulations, and current practices on parental participation in project governance.

We saw that, while existing Follow Through regulations were quite specific in outlining the required governance role for parents, few parents or staff were familiar with them. Instead, local project staff and participants tended to rely on "traditional" interpretations of regulation requirements passed from one generation of staff and parents to the next. Even in those few cases where the actual regulations were read, the dense legalistic language tended to limit their impacts on sites. Consequently, we found that most PACs saw their principal role lying outside governance, in the areas of parent education and school support.

We found that state education agencies played little role in local Follow Through parental involvement in governance. There were some states that sponsored workshops and state PACs, but no instances of state regulations or guidelines for parental involvement in Follow Through governance were encountered.

Local practices, in contrast, had considerable impact. We found five practices that were particularly related to PAC participation in project governance. First, when a district or project specified an authority role for the PAC--identified a critical project area in which the PAC was to be involved with decisions--the PAC had greater involvement. Second, projects that had parents on the PAC who were informed about operations in the district and project tended to have more active PACs. Third, projects that had staff members (usually the Parent Coordinator but occasionally the Project Director) who supported but did not dominate the PAC also had more active PACs. Fourth, the most involved PACs received training, particularly training in decision making and group process. Finally, the most involved PACs were in districts without a narrowly proscribed decision-making structure, districts that did not reserve all critical decisions to a few administrators.

In general, we found that meaningful PAC participation in decision making was not easy to achieve, for several reasons. First, there were limited opportunities for decision making. Many decisions about the design and organization of the projects had been made years before--frequently with parental input. Further, most schools and districts had existing mechanisms, and individuals charged with making whatever decisions. Thus, mechanisms had to be displaced somewhat for PACs to become involved. Second, parents themselves were frequently reluctant to become involved in decisions, believing that governance was the proper domain of educational professionals only. Finally, staff and administrator attitudes frequently paralleled those of parents; many staff did not believe that parents were competent to participate effectively in decisions about project content, budget, or personnel.

III. PARENTS IN THE INSTRUCTIONAL ROLE

A second way in which parental involvement is manifested is through an educational role in which parents are directly involved with the instructional process. Parents can participate in the instructional role at the school itself as paid aides or volunteers, or at home as teachers of their own children. The Follow Through regulations are silent about involving parents as teachers of their own children at home, although several sponsors do emphasize this form of parental involvement. The regulations are clear, though, in their insistence that parents be involved in the classroom as aides and volunteers.

There are differences of opinion regarding the proper place of parents in instruction. For example, among detractors one argument takes the "professional responsibility" position: instruction is the rightful province of trained personnel, and parents at best only interfere with (and at worst are actually detrimental to) improved student performance. A second argument advanced by detractors in the "denial of services" position: any home tutoring program is necessarily unfair because many students will not have parents who can provide them with effective instruction at home.

Supporters of parents in instruction also take different stances. First is the "educational enrichment" position: in the classroom and at home, parents are closer than professional personnel to students' cultures and, thus, are effective in meeting the needs of individual students. Second is the "influencing change" position: through their day-to-day interaction with school personnel, parent aides and volunteers are effective in influencing schools to provide higher quality education for students. Third, there is the "cost saving" position: parent aides and volunteers are an inexpensive way to reduce the student/adult ratio so that the opportunities for individual assistance to students are enhanced.

In this study we addressed the following policy relevant issues:

- ~~Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate meaningfully in instructional roles?~~
- Do existing state and local practices affect meaningful parental participation in instructional roles?

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

When we explored parental participation in the educational process of Follow Through projects, we focused both on the extent of parental involvement as aides, volunteers, and home teachers, and on the nature of that involvement--specifically, the precise role played by parents in instruction and in decisions related to that instruction. Our key findings in the three areas were as follows:

1. Parents were widely used as classroom aides, and most sites had a policy of actively recruiting parents to fill aide openings. However, the number of parents of current Follow Through children in those positions was rather small.
2. Parent classroom aides played a major instructional role in the classroom, frequently functioning more as co-teachers than as assistants.
3. Relatively few sites had active programs to recruit parent classroom volunteers, but those that did tended to provide a substantial instructional role for participating volunteers.
4. Most sites had some activities to involve parents as teachers of their own children at home. Some sites had formal organized programs with central coordination, individualized training for parents,

defined educational programs for children, and provisions for monitoring; others had less formal programs consisting primarily of workshops and/or distribution of handbooks or materials.

Our analyses sought to explain these major findings. We were particularly interested in determining the effects of legislation, regulations, and current practices on parental participation in project instructional processes.

We saw that the existing Follow Through regulations appear to be adequate in their specification of the roles parents should play in the educational process. What the regulations did not specify, the sponsors frequently did. Once again, however, few people on site were aware of the contents of the regulations. Those regulations, however, were not clear about whether aides had to be parents of current Follow Through children. We pointed out both advantages and disadvantages in such a policy. On the one hand, the long tenure among aides found in the Site Study (over ten years in many cases) had certain educational benefits, since it is an expensive and time consuming process to train new aides in the complexities of a sponsor's models. On the other hand, permitting aides to remain in their positions indefinitely had the effect in many projects of eliminating an important avenue for involvement of (current) parents in the educational process.

Local district policies frequently interfered with participation by parents in aide positions. The trend over the past decade has been toward increasing "professionalization" of aides. Many districts now hire and administer paraprofessionals from the central district offices, effectively restricting local project input into these decisions and making it difficult for parents to be hired.

We found several local practices that contributed to increased participation by parents as aides, volunteers, and home teachers. First, projects that were successful in involving parents as aides frequently gave parents, through the PAC, considerable influence over the screening and recommendation of candidates for those positions. Second, sites that were effective in involving parents

in one or more of the three areas generally had individual Follow Through staff members responsible for recruiting and coordinating activities within that area. Third, successful sites generally provided extensive training for their aides, volunteers, and parents teaching at home that focused on the educational approach of the sponsor and on specific teaching skills. In the case of aides, this training was frequently augmented by career development programs. Several sites ensured a parental presence in the classroom when district policies precluded hiring parent aides by instituting a program to pay stipends to parents willing to work full time in the class for limited periods of time. These programs had the added benefit of providing participating parents with extensive training that enabled them to play major instructional roles in the classroom and at home.

Several practices were specific to projects that successfully involved large numbers of parents in teaching their own children at home. These programs all shared four features: they were centrally coordinated by project staff; they included procedures for developing individualized instructional plans for children; they provided individualized training to parents in those plans; and they included mechanisms for monitoring parents' and childrens' progress in home instruction.

Throughout these three aspects of educational process, the influence and input of the sponsor was key. Sponsors frequently inspired sites to provide for parental involvement in instruction. They often provided training and materials to encourage that involvement. And, they worked with teachers and staff to convince them of the value in and need for parental participation in teaching children.

IV. FUNDING CONSIDERATIONS AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Conventional wisdom holds that the types and amounts of services included in an operational project should be influenced by the level of funding received by that project. It is a simple extension of this argument to expect that parental involvement activities would be affected by funding levels. However, there has not been a complete consensus on the possible interaction between funding level and project services. While some persons have held that more extensive parental involvement activities are found in projects with greater amounts of funds available to them, others believe that the extent to which parental involvement activities go on is less related to funding level than it is to attitudes and practices of educational personnel and parents.

A second funding consideration bears on the timing of fund allocations, and the duration of the funding. It is possible that late receipt of Follow Through funds and a single-year funding cycle can reduce the effective implementation of parental involvement activities. On the other hand, it can be argued that a well-developed parental involvement component in a project would not be unduly constrained by late funding or one-year funding.

One other funding consideration was suggested to us--the amount of a project's budget specifically devoted to parental involvement. This consideration involves the extent to which designated parental involvement funding relates to parental involvement activities.

In our study we collected information on the size of the Follow Through grant, the total amount of money provided to the district from all sources, the timing and duration of Follow Through grants, and the designation of money in the grant for parental involvement. With this information we attempted to address the following policy-relevant questions:

- Do total funding levels affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?

- Do the timing and duration of grants influence parental involvement activities?
- Does the amount of funding specifically devoted to parental involvement affect parental involvement activities?

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

Neither the size of the Follow Through grant nor the wealth of the district bore any relationship to the proportion of parents who were active in a project, the range of a project's parental involvement activities, or the levels those activities took on. In terms of quality--considering what went on within given parental involvement functions--grant size was not a contributing factor. The same held true for total district wealth. However, several sites reported that they had been forced to curtail or eliminate aspects of their parent involvement programs, such as parent education workshops or career development services, because of recent cuts in the level of funding. Further, since Follow Through grants were received at about the same time and for the same lengths of time by all projects, it was not possible to detect any relationship between those variables and parental involvement.

Districts included in the Site Study employed such widely different techniques for maintaining financial records that it was impossible to identify Follow Through funds used expressly for parental involvement. For example, some districts did consider parent aides as parental involvement and included their salaries in a parental involvement line item of the project budget; other districts, also employing parents as aides, included these salaries under instructional expenses. As another example, some districts placed the salary of a Parent Coordinator under parental involvement, while others placed that expenditure under staff salaries. Despite extensive efforts, we were not able to obtain precise, accurate information on project expenditures for parental involvement at enough locations to allow for the formation of definitive findings concerning the effects of budgets.

V. MULTIPLE FUNDING AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Most school districts are participating in more than one program that calls for parental involvement. There are numerous Federal educational programs, and some state programs, that include parental involvement components. It is of some concern to Follow Through personnel that the relationships among different projects that are being implemented side-by-side be examined with regard to parental involvement.

It is possible that the occurrence of parallel projects has a salubrious effect, that being the natural interaction among parents involved with different projects resulting in each stimulating and learning from the other. Alternatively, it is possible that the requirements for different advisory groups, along with the different concerns of parents, siphons time from parent leaders and project administrators, as well as creating conflicts among both parents and educators.

In this study, we addressed the following policy-relevant issue:

- When multiple programs are funded at a site, are the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities affected?

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

We learned that the parental involvement components of Follow Through projects were relatively unaffected by other projects. The classroom aide component, however, was frequently funded at least in part by Title I. We saw little interaction or coordination of parental involvement activities across projects.

We did not uncover any instances of decisions about Follow Through projects being made by advisory groups for other projects. At a few schools with school PACs we did note that school advisory groups for Title I occasionally

participated in Follow Through decisions. Sometimes these advisory groups were different from Follow Through School Advisory Committees, but typically a single group was formed.

When we considered the articulation of parental involvement activities across projects, we found that Follow Through PACs had minimal contact with the district advisory groups for other projects. We found some examples of overlapping memberships, such as the same parents serving on more than one advisory group; but this overlap did not result in the different governing bodies sharing information or coordinating their activities.

VI. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

The legislation and regulations for Follow Through do not offer a clear rationale for parental involvement. However, it is possible to deduce that the principal reason for parental involvement is the expectation that it will result in an improvement in the quality of education offered to students who are recipients of Follow Through services. Our literature review and interviews with informed persons suggested four ways in which parents can affect the quality of education.

1. Principally through advisory committees, but also through less formal interactions with project personnel, parents can influence the design, administration, and evaluation of project services offered to students.
2. What is taught (curriculum) and how (instruction) in a Follow Through project can be affected by advisory committees, parent aides and volunteers, and by individual parents.
3. Parents can overtly support a Follow Through project (by volunteering to accompany students on a field trip) and also covertly support it (for example, by instilling positive attitudes in their children toward education).
4. By the manner in which they interact with project personnel and perhaps with each other, parents can influence the climate of a project school.

Some of the arguments concerning parental involvement cited in regard to other policy issues indicate that there is not perfect agreement on parental involvement and educational quality. Some persons hold that all important educational matters should be left to the professionals, without interference from lay persons. (This view is not unique to professionals; there are

parents who share it. Proportionately, however, there are more educators than parents who hold this view.) Contrarily, people who believe in participatory democracy feel that parent participation in Follow Through projects should have, as a major outcome, the enhancement of the quality of project services.

The policy-relevant issue we addressed was:

- Do parental involvement activities influence the quality of educational services provided to Follow Through students?

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

We found that parents materially affected the quality of education provided to students served by Follow Through projects. Returning to the four ways outlined above in which parents can affect the quality of education, we found numerous instances of impact in each domain. There were cases in which an advisory committee influenced the design, administration, or evaluation of their project services to students through such activities as organizing and funding Parent-Child Learning Centers or participating in proposal planning sessions. Parents also affected what was taught in the classroom and how it was taught in their roles as classroom aides and volunteers. The very presence of parents made it possible for teachers to individualize instruction more; we also found that aides and volunteers had substantive instructional and planning roles along with the teachers.

We found that non-instructional support activities on the part of parents for the school were widespread and ranged from sponsoring holiday festivities for students, to organizing student field trips, to raising funds to purchase materials and equipment for the school.

Finally, we found regular interaction between the school and parents through a variety of one-way and two-way mechanisms, such as back-to-school-nights, home visits, telephone contact, and parent rooms in the schools. These regular communications helped in many cases to improve the climate in the school.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This study began as an exploration into the nature, causes, and consequences of parental involvement in 16 Follow Through projects. Although these projects were not selected to be representative of all Follow Through projects throughout the country, the findings reported here do suggest that parental involvement is alive and (in varying degrees) well in Follow Through, that it has real payoffs, and that others can learn from these 16 projects to enhance their own programs.

All of the projects included in this study had some parental involvement activities, and several made extensive efforts to attract parents and involve them substantively in all phases of project operations, from governance to instructional and non-instructional support. Even more importantly, the data suggest that parental involvement programs have been worth the effort--that participation by parents produces real benefits for the schools, for the parents themselves, and for children. Examples of these payoffs abounded in our data. Parent advisory committees at some sites had become an integral part of project planning and decision making; at other sites classroom aides and volunteers made it possible for projects to more fully meet the individual needs of children; in some cases, the efforts by parents as advocates and defenders of the project were directly responsible for the continuation of Follow Through in their schools. Further examples were seen of parental involvement paying off for parents and their children: cases of personal and professional development among parents and changes in children that could be traced to the parents' participation in the project.

Probably the most encouraging conclusion coming from the study is that parental involvement can be stimulated. Although projects did have to contend with the particular social and administrative context within which they operated, they were able to take concrete steps to overcome obstacles in that environment and increase parental participation in their programs.

None of these projects started with a fully developed and comprehensive parental involvement program; each had to work to arouse interest and commitment among administrators, among teachers, and, most importantly, among the parents themselves. However, many were successful in their efforts, and valuable lessons can be learned from that experience.

APPENDIX

TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE STUDY

The Study of Parental Involvement in Four Federal Education Programs has been designed to provide a systematic exploration of parental participation in the educational process. The Study has consisted of two substudies: the Federal Programs Survey and the Site Study. A previous volume reported in detail the findings from the Federal Programs Survey. The present volume is devoted to the Site Study findings. However, in order for the reader to fully understand these findings, we feel it necessary to present an overview of the purposes and methods employed in both substudies.

Accordingly, this Appendix contains three parts. Part I is an introduction to parental involvement in Federal programs and a delineation of the design and purposes of the overall Study. Part II discusses briefly the Federal Programs Survey and, in particular, its relationship to the Site Study. Finally, Part III affords the reader a closer look at the instrumentation, data collection, and analysis procedures associated with the Site Study, thereby providing a substantial background for the findings presented in this volume.

I. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

THE ROOTS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

During the past decade parental participation has come to play an increasingly important role in the educational process. The concept of parental involvement in Federal education programs has its roots in the Community Action Program of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 (EOA), administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). One intent of the EOA was to promote community action to increase the political participation of previously excluded citizens, particularly members of ethnic minority groups, and to provide them with a role in the formation of policies and the making of decisions that had the potential to affect their lives (Peterson and Greenstone, 1977.) More specifically, the EOA required that poverty programs be developed with the "maximum feasible participation of the residents of areas and the members of the groups served."

As applied to education, the maximum feasible participation requirement has been interpreted quite broadly. One manifestation has been the requirement that parents of children being served become members of policymaking groups. EOA's Head Start Program was the first Federal education program to address the concern of maximum feasible participation by instituting such groups. In addition to decision-making (governance) roles, Head Start also provided opportunities for parents of served children to become involved as paid staff members in Head Start centers and as teachers of their own children at home. Other Federal education programs have tended to follow the lead of Head Start in identifying both governance and direct service roles for parents in the educational process. In fact, participation by parents in Federal education programs has been stipulated in the General Education Provisions Act (Sec. 427), which calls for the Commissioner of Education to establish regulations encouraging parental participation in any program for which it is determined that such participation would increase the effectiveness of the program.

The Study of Parental Involvement has been designed to examine parental involvement components of four Federal education programs: ESEA Title I, ESEA Title VII Bilingual, Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), and Follow Through. While there are differences in the legislation, regulations, and guidelines pertaining to each of the four programs, all of them derive their emphasis upon parental/community participation from the General Education Provisions Act. Because these programs differ in terms of intent, target populations, and mandated parental involvement, they provide a rich source of information on the subject of the study.

RESEARCH INTO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The present study takes on added significance in light of the paucity of prior research directed to the nature and consequences of parental involvement. Despite the increasing opportunities provided to parents and other community members to influence the educational process, little systematic information has been available on the role parents actually play in designing and/or delivering educational services associated with Federal programs. While prior evaluations of each of the four subject programs have included some attention to parental involvement, none has addressed this aspect of the program in a focused, in-depth fashion. For example, studies conducted by the American Institute for Research for Title VII Bilingual (1978), System Development Corporation for ESAA (1976, 1978), Nero Associates for Follow Through (1976), and System Development Corporation for Title I (1970) all reported some limited information touching on parental involvement within the subject program.

The exception to this pattern of treating parental involvement as a subsidiary concern was a series of NIE-sponsored studies whose primary focus was Title I district- and school-level advisory groups. The results of four of these studies were presented in an NIE (1978) report to Congress, while the fifth was conducted by CPI Associates during the spring of 1978. But even this series of studies had definite limitations in scope. They were essentially exploratory in nature; the types of parental involvement examined were limited

to district and school Parent Advisory Councils; the participation of parents as aides and volunteers, the tutoring that parents provide their own children at home, and parent-school liaison personnel were not included in the examinations. Finally, little can be determined about the factors that influence Title I PACs or the consequences of PAC functions from these studies. These are two vital areas, as will be seen, in the present Study. Thus, for each of the four subject programs in the Study of Parental Involvement, the research can be said to have produced scattered findings that are more provocative than definitive.

Going beyond evaluations of the four subject Federal programs, there are numerous studies that have been concerned with aspects of parental involvement specifically or have included considerations of parental involvement. Three recent reviews are available that summarize findings from different studies (Chong, 1976; Center for Equal Education, 1977; Gordon, 1978). These reviews provided considerable information to help shape the Study of Parental Involvement (e.g., insight into what types of parental involvement appear to make a difference in the educational process), but in and of themselves the studies reported therein were much too narrowly focused to be generalized to the four Federal programs.

PURPOSES FOR THE STUDY OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

As the above review indicates, previous studies do not provide systematic, nationally representative information on parental involvement in Federal education programs. To fill this gap in knowledge, the U.S. Department of Education (ED) issued a Request for Proposal (RFP) for a study which would achieve two broad goals:

1. To obtain an accurate description of the form and extent of parental involvement in Federal education programs and, for each identified form or participatory role, to identify factors which seem to facilitate or prevent parents from carrying out these roles

2. To study the feasibility of disseminating information about effective parental involvement

In response to this RFP, System Development Corporation (SDC) proposed a study which included these major objectives:

1. DESCRIBE PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The first objective is to provide detailed descriptions of parental involvement in terms of three categories of information:

- a. Types and levels of parental involvement activities and the extent to which each activity occurs
- b. Characteristics of participants and non-participants in parental involvement activities, including both parents and educators
- c. Costs associated with parental involvement activities

2. IDENTIFY CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS

The second objective is to identify factors that facilitate the conduct of parental involvement activities and factors that inhibit such activities and to ascertain the relative contributions of these factors to specific activities and to parental involvement in general.

3. DETERMINE CONSEQUENCES

The third study objective is to determine the direction and degree of the outcomes of parental involvement activities. Included in this task are outcomes of specific activities as well as outcomes of parental involvement in general.

4. SPECIFY SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES

Based on findings concerning parental involvement activities, their contributory factors, and their outcomes, strategies which have been successful in enhancing parental involvement at one or more sites will be specified.

5. PROMULGATE FINDINGS

The fifth objective is to produce reports and handbooks on parental involvement for project implementors, program administrators, and Congress.

The objectives cited above were translated into a set of research questions intended to guide the Study of Parental Involvement. Answers to these questions ought to provide a firm foundation for decision making at the Congressional, program office, and local levels. The six global research questions identified were:

- What is the nature of parental involvement?
- Who does and who does not participate in parental involvement?
- What monetary costs are associated with parental involvement?
- What factors influence parental involvement activities?
- What are the consequences of parental involvement?
- Are there identifiable strategies which have been successful in promoting and/or carrying out parental involvement activities?

DESIGN OF THE OVERALL STUDY

The design of any study the size of the Study of Parental Involvement is a complex and painstaking task. We will only briefly summarize the design tasks undertaken to achieve the purposes of the Study, as presented in the last section. First, during the planning phase of the Study, a conceptual framework for parental involvement was established and a set of policy issues was specified. Then, two substudies were designed and implemented. First, the Federal Programs Survey was developed to collect "quantitative" descriptive data on formal parental involvement activities from a sample of districts and schools representative of each of the programs on a nationwide basis. Second, the Site Study was created to explore in a more qualitative, in-depth fashion the contributory factors and consequences of parental involvement, as well as the more informal and site-specific parental involvement activities. (The Site Study findings are, to reiterate, the subject of this volume.)

The remainder of Part I of this Appendix will discuss the primary features of the conceptual framework established for the Study of Parental Involvement, while Parts II and III will be devoted to the Federal Programs Survey and Site Study respectively.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

During the planning phase of the Study, a conceptualization of parental involvement was developed; in conjunction with the conceptualization, a series of policy issues were specified. Both of these tasks were conducted on the basis of information which included extensive reviews of the literature on parental involvement, examinations of legislation and regulations for the four Federal programs, suggestions from study advisory group members, the personal experiences of project staff members, and interviews with representatives of each of the three major audiences for the Study. (The latter encompasses Congress, Federal program administrators, and local implementors of parental involvement.) Although the two tasks were interrelated, we will discuss each separately for the sake of clarity.

In order to realize the objectives of the Study, a conceptualization of parental involvement was developed. It can be summarized by the statement:

Given that certain preconditions are satisfied, parental involvement functions are implemented in varying ways, depending upon particular contextual factors, and produce certain outcomes.

Five major elements are embedded in this statement. These elements, which comprise the conceptualization that guides the Study, are outlined briefly below.

Functions

Five parental involvement functions were identified. The functions are:

- Parental participation in project governance
- Parental participation in the instructional process
- Parental involvement in non-instructional support services for the school
- Communication and interpersonal relations among parents and educators
- Educational offerings for parents

Preconditions

These are the conditions that must be satisfied in order for parental involvement activities to take place. They are necessary for the implementation of a function, in that a function cannot exist if any of the preconditions is not met. For instance, one precondition is that there be some parents willing to engage in the function.

Context

Parental involvement activities take place within an environment that contributes to the manner and degree of their operationalization and potentially to their effectiveness. Systematic examinations of these contextual factors may allow for a determination of which of these contribute to parental involvement, in what ways, and to what degrees. As an example, one contextual factor of potential importance is a community's history of citizen involvement with social programs.

Implementation

When a particular parental involvement function is carried out, there are a number of variables that help to portray the process of implementation. Through these variables, activities can be described in terms of participants, levels of participation, and costs. One variable that exemplifies implementation is the decision-making role of the advisory council.

Outcomes

Parental involvement activities can lead to both positive and negative consequences, for both institutions and individuals. Examinations of these outcomes will provide the information needed for decisions about what constitutes effective parental involvement practices.

SPECIFICATION OF POLICY-RELEVANT ISSUES

Policy-relevant issues were specified in five areas. Providing information on these issues should be of special value to decision makers who can influence legislation, program operations, and project implementation.

Parental Involvement in Governance

This area covers parental participation in the planning of projects, in ongoing decision making about projects, and in evaluating projects. The policy issues within the governance realm are:

- Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate in making important decisions?
- Do existing state and local practices affect parental participation in the making of important decisions?

Parental Involvement in the Instructional Process

The second area is concerned with parental participation in instruction as paid or volunteer paraprofessionals within the school or as tutors of their own children at home. The specific issues related to the instructional process are:

- Do existing Federal and state legislation, regulations, and guidelines allow parents to participate meaningfully in educational roles?
- Do existing state and local practices affect meaningful parental participation in educational roles?

Funding Considerations and Parental Involvement

Policy issues within the third area explore the relationship between funding considerations and the conduct of parental involvement activities. These issues are:

- Do total funding levels affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?

- Do the timing and duration of fund allocations influence the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?
- Does the amount of funding specifically devoted to parental involvement affect the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities?

Parental Involvement and Educational Quality

The fourth area of concern is the quality of education offered to students who are recipients of program services. The policy issue is:

- Do parental involvement activities influence the quality of education provided to students served by the four Federal programs?

Multiple Funding and Parental Involvement

The final area addresses the situation in which a district or a school is participating in more than one program that calls for parental involvement. The issue of relevance in such a situation is:

- When multiple programs are funded at a site, are the quantity and quality of parental involvement activities affected?

II. THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS SURVEY

Two broad purposes guided the development of the Federal Programs Survey (FPS). First, it was intended to provide nationwide projections of the nature and extent of parental involvement activities in districts and schools that have projects funded by one or more of the subject programs. Second, the FPS was to provide the information needed to establish a meaningful sampling design for the Site Study. This section will merely touch on some of the features of FPS sampling, instrumentation, and data collection. The reader interested in details about FPS methodology and/or findings is encouraged to review the FPS report entitled Parents and Federal Education Programs: Some Preliminary Findings from the Study of Parental Involvement.

Four independent samples of districts (and schools within those districts) were drawn (using a two-stage process detailed in the FPS report) to achieve a national representation of participating schools within each of the four target programs. Separate district-level and school-level questionnaires were constructed for ESAA, Title I, and Title VII. In light of Follow Through's organizational structure, a project-level and school-level questionnaire were developed.

With two exceptions (discussed below), questionnaires for all four programs addressed the same broad content areas. At the district (or project) level, those were:

1. background information,
2. supervision/coordination of parental involvement activities, and
3. district-level advisory councils.

At the school level, they were:

1. background information,
2. paid paraprofessionals,
3. volunteers,

4. parents as teachers for their own children,
5. coordination/promotion of parental involvement activities, and
6. school funding.

The Title I school-level questionnaire also contained a separate section on school-level advisory councils to reflect the Title I mandate for such school-level councils. The ESAA district-level and school-level questionnaire each included a section addressing ESAA-funded non-profit organizations.

The Federal Programs Survey was conducted during April and May of 1979. A mail-and-telephone data collection procedure was employed to ensure quality data and a high response rate. Copies of the appropriate forms were sent to the liaison person in each district, who most often was the director of the subject Federal program. This person was requested to fill out the district-level questionnaire and to assign the school-level questionnaires to the program staff member(s) best acquainted with project operations at the selected schools. A trained SDC representative called (at a time convenient for the respondent) to record responses to the questionnaires.

Once the data were recorded, each questionnaire was thoroughly reviewed by a SDC staff member in order to identify any inconsistencies or omissions. Follow-up calls were made to remedy these deficiencies.

The mail-and-telephone method provided respondents with time to gather the information needed to complete the questionnaire before the telephone interviews. It also allowed SDC staff members to assist respondents with questions they found ambiguous or unclear. Because of the review and call-back process, instances of missing data or logically inconsistent information were rare. Finally, the procedure generally ensures a very high response rate. In particular, response rates of 96 percent were obtained at both the district-level (286 out of 299 sampled districts) and the school-level (869 out of 908 sampled schools). For all of these reasons, we are confident that the quality of data collected in the FPS was extremely high.

III. THE SITE STUDY

PURPOSES

The Site Study was conceptualized as an in-depth investigation of parental involvement which would provide information extending far beyond the descriptions of formal program components derived from the Federal Programs Survey. More specifically, four types of information were to be obtained:

1. Detailed descriptions of parental involvement functions, including governance and education functions in all cases and other functions wherever they occur
2. Informal aspects of parental involvement, that is, ways in which parents participate in addition to formal project components
3. Factors which enhance or deter the participation of parents in Federal education programs and/or influence the extent of their impact on program operations or outcomes
4. Consequences of parental participation, both for the participants themselves and for the programs and institutions within which they operate

OVERVIEW OF THE SITE STUDY

To satisfy the above purposes, intensive, on-site data collection efforts, employing a variety of data sources and a substantial period of time, were demanded. To meet these demands, experienced researchers who lived in the immediate vicinity of each sampled site were employed and trained by SDC. They remained on-site for a period of 16 weeks, on a half-time basis, collecting information from the LEA and two participating schools. Three data collection techniques were used by the Field Researchers: interviews, observations, and document analyses. Their data collection efforts were

guided by a set of "analysis packets" which contained detailed descriptions of the research questions to be explored and the appropriate techniques to employ. Information gathered on site was submitted to SDC on a regular basis, in the form of taped protocols and written forms on which specific data were recorded. Each Field Researcher worked with a senior SDC staff member, who served as a Site Coordinator and provided guidance and direction as necessary. Toward the end of the data collection period, all Field Researchers were asked to do a series of summary protocols which called for them to analyze their data, with the assistance of the Site Coordinators, for the purpose of answering major questions of substantive interest. These summary protocols became critical elements in the multi-step analysis procedures carried out by staff at SDC.

METHODOLOGY

Within this section, various aspects of the Site Study methodology are discussed: sampling, hiring and training of Field Researchers, data collection techniques, instrumentation, data reporting, and analyses.

SAMPLE DESIGN

As was the case for the FPS, samples for the Site Study were drawn independently for the four Federal programs. Within each program, the goal was to select districts and schools that exhibited greater and lesser degrees of parental involvement--defined as involvement in governance and education functions, as determined by the FPS. In addition to degree of parental involvement, the sample took into account the urbanicity of districts and the number of programs from which the district was receiving funds. Each sample was drawn using a two-step process. First, districts were selected for participation. Then, two elementary schools within each district were selected. (Four districts were exceptions to this procedure since, for each, there was only one elementary school participating in the project. For these districts, then, the site consisted of the district (or project) office and the single participating elementary school.) The Site Study was intended to investigate

approximately 50 districts and 100 schools. To account for projected losses of districts--due to problems with data collection--a 25 percent oversample was used. Thus, 62 districts were chosen for the initial sample: 15 each in the ESAA and Title VII Bilingual programs, and 16 each in Title I and Follow Through. Due to problems in securing final district approval and/or locating Field Researchers that met all our criteria, the final sample included 57 sites.

Given the fact that the sample for the Site Study was purposefully designed to yield a number of relatively active and relatively inactive sites, one must avoid generalizing percentages or averages from this small sample to the entire population of districts and schools receiving services from a particular Federal program.

HIRING OF FIELD RESEARCHERS

An intensive recruitment and hiring effort was conducted to ensure that qualified Field Researchers would be located at each site. A description of the Field Researcher's duties and qualifications was prepared and sent to appropriate individuals at organizations such as research firms, colleges, universities, community groups and school districts located near selected sites. Approximately 700 job descriptions were sent and we received approximately 200 resumes from prospective candidates. SDC staff members then visited sites, conducting personal interviews with all candidates whose resumes passed an initial screening process. For those sites at which an insufficient number of viable candidates was located prior to the staff member's visit, an attempt was made to locate and interview additional candidates during the course of the trip. In a few instances, interviews with additional candidates were conducted from SDC via telephone. And, for two sites in remote locations for which personal visits were unfeasible, the entire selection process was conducted via written and telephonic communication.

Qualifications for the Field Researcher position included a background in the social sciences, research experience, and some experience working with school districts and, in some instances, fluency in a second language. In addition, for several sites, school district personnel required that Field Researchers be of particular racial or ethnic backgrounds. Despite our intensive recruitment effort, this combination of criteria resulted in our being unable to find satisfactory candidates in two sites. These sites were dropped from the sample.

INSTRUMENTATION

In designing the Site Study instrumentation, one of our major goals was that the information to be gathered provide accurate, detailed descriptions of the full range of program-related activities at each site--no matter how unusual those activities might be. While providing for the investigation of site-specific program characteristics, we wanted to ensure that a core of data about common program activities be gathered in a comparable way across sites. Further, we wanted to make sure that the Site Study would explore, in depth, both the relationships among parental involvement activities and relationships among these activities, various contextual factors, and valued outcomes. In addition to these substantive considerations, we attempted to minimize to the extent possible the burden that this intensive data collection effort would place on respondents at each site.

We realized that to achieve these goals, we did not want Field Researchers to go out into district offices and schools armed with a set of formal interview questionnaires and observation protocols. Such a tightly-structured approach requires that the researcher make numerous assumptions about what parental involvement activities are going on in the field and which of these activities are most important. Further, the researcher must presume to be able to word questions in a manner that will take into account regional, educational, and socio-economic differences. Given our goals and our unwillingness to make such assumptions, we have developed a unique approach to instrumentation. Basically, the approach entails the use of four sets of "analysis packets,"

one tailored to each of the four target programs, to guide Field Researchers in their data collection efforts. These analysis packets, each of which addresses a particular research issue of concern to the Study, employ three data collection techniques--interviews, observations, and document analyses. These data collection techniques and the analysis packet approach are described in detail below.

Data Collection Techniques

The primary data collection method employed during the Study was interviews with key individuals in the district, school, and community. Field Researchers interviewed Federal program directors, coordinators of parental involvement, district and school administrators, teachers, program advisory group officers and members, parents participating in program-supported activities, parents not participating in program-supported activities, and, in some cases, officers of non-program advisory committees such as the PTA.

Observation techniques represented the second data collection strategy. The major purpose of the observations was to gather firsthand information on the parental involvement activities that took place at each site. Because of the extended site visitation schedule, Field Researchers were able to observe advisory group meetings, parents involved within classrooms, training sessions for parents, social interactions among staff and parents and, to some extent, informal interchanges involving educators and parents.

Finally, Field Researchers analyzed available documentation associated with parental involvement. At many sites, such documentation included advisory council bylaws, minutes of meetings, newsletters or bulletins, handbooks, and flyers announcing activities for parents.

Analysis Packets

As already noted, the multi-site, multi-method data collection effort was organized and structured by means of a set of analysis packets. Each packet

addressed a particular research area of concern in the Study (for example, the governance function). Research areas were divided into several dimensions, and the packet was organized by these dimensions. For example, dimensions within the governance analysis packet included District-level Advisory Committees, other advisory groups/organizations, and individuals. Several dimensions were then further subdivided into sections, which focused on important topics for investigation within dimensions. Thus, within the District-level Advisory Committee dimension, sections addressed such topics as parent member characteristics, meeting logistics, and involvement in decision making. Each of these sections was introduced by an essay that explained the importance of the subject under investigation to the overall Study and described the kinds of information to be collected. We wanted the Field Researchers' data collection efforts to be based on an understanding of the relationship among various pieces of information and on a sense of how the information would add to the overall picture of parental involvement.

Three fundamental approaches to investigating topics presented within analysis packet sections were developed. They were termed constant, orienting, and exploratory. They are briefly described below.

Constant - In those limited instances where it was possible to do so, we designed research questions that were to be asked in a precise, standardized form, using the specific language in which they were written.

Orienting - For these sections, we felt that it was not possible to specify in advance the actual questions to be asked, since the nature of the questions would depend upon the particular characteristics of each site. Field Researchers were provided, within the essay lead-in, with an orientation toward the subject for investigation and guidance for initiating a line of inquiry.

Exploratory - There were some aspects of parental involvement, such as home tutoring and parent education programs, about which so little was known that we were unable to determine in advance the degree to which they merited study. To avoid prescribing any unnecessary data collection, we chose to first examine these potential avenues of parental participation at a very general level, using questions which were purely "exploratory" in nature.

Within each analysis packet section, we specified interview respondents, observation situations, and documents on the basis of the nature of information sought.

DATA REPORTING

Given the ambitious purposes of the Site Study and the consequent breadth of the analysis packets, Field Researchers collected a wealth of information about program-related parental involvement activities. The recording and transmission of this information back to SDC were crucial to the success of the Study. Consequently, we developed a multi-faceted data recording system, intended to treat each of the several types of data in as accurate, complete, and efficient a manner as possible.

For constant sections, we provided Field Researchers with forms on which to record answers to interview questions and information from observation periods. Field Researchers were requested to transcribe any notes made in the field onto these forms as soon as possible after returning from a period of interviewing or observing. Information garnered from analysis of documents could conceivably be used to complement constant interview data. Field Researchers were instructed to record such information on the same form as interview information and identify it as to its source. As each constant section was completed, Field Researchers sent a copy to their supervisors at SDC and retained the originals in their site notebooks.

The process for orienting sections (which constituted the bulk of the analysis packets) was considerably different. Whether generated through interview or observation, orienting information was to be recorded on an audio tape; Field Researchers were trained to recapture, in as much detail as possible, everything that transpired during the interview or observation period. For interview situations, this meant that the Field Researcher would detail the sequence of questions and replies. For observation situations, it meant that given a defined focus, the Field Researchers would recapture events in the sequence that they unfolded. These tapes were called "sequential protocols." When an interview or observation could not be recorded in a sequential manner, Field Researchers were asked to recall the key points of what had transpired and prepare a tape to be transcribed into a "recollective protocol." The recording and reporting of data for exploratory sections paralleled those for orienting sections.

Document analyses conducted as part of an orienting or exploratory section did not require any taping on the part of a Field Researcher. Instead, the Field Researcher sent either a copy of the notes taken or the document itself (with appropriate highlighting and marginal comments) back to SDC.

The data reporting procedures described above all revolved around what were termed Site Coordinators. These were SDC staff people who had responsibility for coordinating the efforts of the Field Researchers. Site Coordinators were in charge of from four to eight sites. They contacted each Field Researcher by phone at least weekly. Each Field Researcher sent constant answer sheets and taped protocols to the Site Coordinator, who was expected to expedite transcription, mail back copies of materials to the Field Researcher, and review carefully the substance of the data. As a result, the Site Coordinator could verify that tasks were being completed satisfactorily. More importantly, Site Coordinators were expected to assist Field Researchers with the resolution of problems occurring on site and to participate in crucial decision making regarding appropriate areas for future investigation. Ultimately, the Site Coordinators became the central figures in actual analyses of the data.

ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The following section discusses our analysis procedures for data collected during the course of the Site Study. Given the large amount of information available from each of the sites, it became especially important to establish a carefully conceived, systematic analysis plan which would achieve our primary goal of being able to identify patterns of parental involvement across sites. Throughout the Site Study, achieving cross-site comparability was foremost in our minds; this was reflected in the relatively high degree of structure we injected into our instrumentation (already discussed). This concern was further reflected in the design of an analysis plan that called for a high degree of abstraction from the raw data. Analyses were done at two levels. The Field Researchers themselves conducted the first level of analysis, with guidance from the Site Coordinators. They collated the data from their interviews, observations, and document analyses related to specific issues defined in the analysis packets and prepared a summary protocol for each issue. These summary protocols formed a comprehensive picture of the nature, causes and consequences of parental involvement at each site.

The second level of analysis was done by the Site Coordinator at SDC to discover patterns in the data across sites in each program. This was accomplished in two steps: first, Site Coordinators summarized the major findings from each site into syntheses that followed a common outline; second, these syntheses were further distilled into analysis tables that arranged the findings from all sites into large matrices that could be examined to discover cross-site patterns. Versions of these analysis tables accompany the presentations of data in this volume. The data collection methodologies we employed provided us with a great wealth of data to draw upon in preparing our reports, while the analysis strategies we adopted enabled us to discern patterns in this data and to discover major findings related to parental involvement.

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